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ARMS CONFERENCE

Proceedings from Dec. 20, 1921, to Jan. 18, 1922

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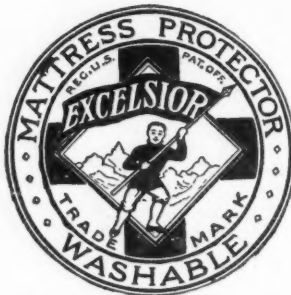
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PROGRESS OF THE ARMS CONFERENCE

How the British plea to abolish submarines was defeated by France and other nations—Passage of American resolutions curbing submarine methods—No limit placed on aircraft—Poison gas prohibited by a resolution unanimously adopted—Agreement on Chinese tariff—Solving the Shantung controversy

[PERIOD FROM DEC. 20, 1921, TO JAN. 18, 1922]

THE Washington Conference for Limitation of Armament bent its chief efforts during the month under review to the limitation of the submarine and other auxiliary craft, including airplane carriers. The British delegation, through Lord Lee of Fareham and Arthur Balfour, made an unsuccessful onslaught on the submarine as an inhuman agency of warfare. France had made her acceptance of the 1.75 naval ratio for capital ships conditional on a large auxiliary fleet, including 90,000 tons of submarines. Lord Lee seized this opening to make a powerful plea for the complete abolition of that agency of warfare. The report of the American Advisory Committee, combined with the unfavorable attitude of all the other delegations, showed that the British plea had no chance of success. At the session held on Dec. 23 the French and the British delegations came into sharp conflict, Admiral de Bon for France seeking to prove that the submarine had demonstrated its effectiveness as a weapon of defense, Mr. Balfour for Great Britain sustaining Lord Lee's view that it was chiefly an offensive weapon, and essentially inhuman. On Dec. 24 Secretary Hughes proposed to reduce submarine tonnage from 90,000 to 60,000 tons for the United States and Great Britain, and that France, Italy and Japan should retain the status quo, approximately 31,500 tons for France and Japan, and 21,000 for

Italy. This proposal followed another sharp debate between the French and British delegations, in which Mr. Balfour demanded to know the reason for the large submarine fleet insisted on by France. Though all the delegations maintained their view that the submarine should be retained, the result of the three days' debate was felt to have been a moral victory for Great Britain, the arguments of whose chief delegates, especially Mr. Balfour, made a deep impression on all, especially on the American delegation. All hopes of eliminating the submarine, or even limiting its tonnage ratio, came to an end on Dec. 28, when France flatly refused a quota of less than 330,000 tons for auxiliary craft, and less than 90,000 tons for submarines. The announcement of this decision precipitated another clash between the French and British delegations, Mr. Balfour and M. Sarraut academically discussing the possibility of future war between Great Britain and France, and Mr. Balfour making it clear that if France insisted on this large submarine force, Great Britain would accept no limitation for craft adapted to fight the submarine. M. Sarraut made a spirited defense of France, and this first phase of the submarine debate here reached its logical end.

At this same session of Dec. 28, however, a new phase began with Elihu Root's presentation of a series of resolutions formally condemning

the illegal use of the submarine as a weapon of naval warfare. The original proposals restated the existing international law regarding attacks on merchant vessels, declared that submarines were not exempt therefrom, invited all other powers to accept these principles, and then went further in declaring that as it was virtually impossible for submarines in making such attacks to observe the laws of humanity above laid down, their use should be prohibited, and to this end, the five conference nations assented to such prohibition, and invited all other nations to adhere thereto. A further resolution urged that all submarine commanders who violated these rules should be tried for piracy. These proposals led to an animated debate which ended only on Jan. 6 with the passage of the resolutions in an extended form—one of the most momentous results achieved by the conference, the effect of which was to give the British delegation a virtual victory after all in its attempt to outlaw the submarine.

Total tonnage of auxiliary ships could not be limited, owing to the attitude of France, but limits were fixed on individual tonnage and armament, including aircraft carriers. A total tonnage ratio was finally fixed for these last vessels. The conference, basing itself on an exhaustive technical report, rejected any attempt to limit aircraft (Jan. 7). The use of poison gas was prohibited at this same session—an action considered almost as momentous as the passing of the Root submarine resolutions.

The Committee on the Far East resumed its discussion on China on Jan. 5, and reached decisions to raise the Chinese customs tariff and to take steps devised ultimately to lead to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Chinese territory. The special negotiations between the Chinese and Japanese delegates over Shantung continued, important agreements being in sight on Jan. 18.

The official proceedings of the conference, from Dec. 22 to the time

when these pages went to press, were as follows:

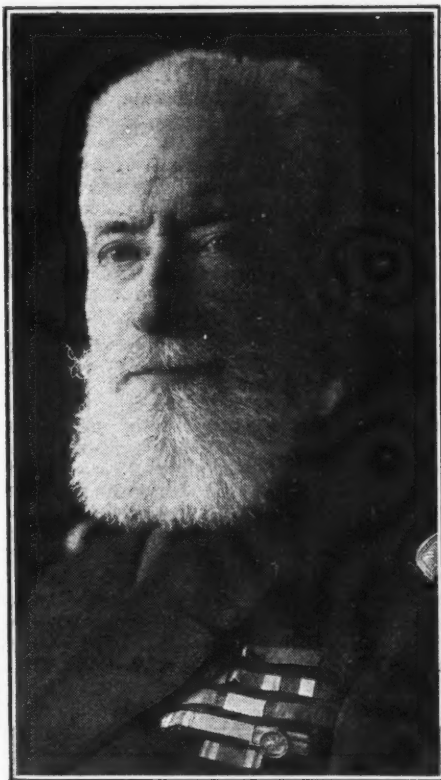
THE SUBMARINE DEBATE

The Committee of the Whole on Limitation of Armament and the Sub-committee on the Limitation of Naval Armaments held their second joint meeting on Dec. 22. At a previous session, Dec. 20 [see January **CURRENT HISTORY**], the naval ratio on capital ships had been provisionally settled by the consent of France to a proportion of 1.75 for France, as compared with the 5-5-3 ratio for the United States, Great Britain and Japan. The correspondence between Secretary Hughes and Premier Briand, however, showed that France's assent was contingent on securing a strong auxiliary fleet. This brought the submarine issue prominently to the fore, and Great Britain now seized the opportunity to urge that the use of submarines be entirely abandoned, or, at all events, substan-



(Photo International)

LORD LEE OF FAREHAM
First Lord of the British Admiralty, who
made a memorable speech at Washington
on behalf of abolishing the submarine



(C) Underwood & Underwood)

VICE ADMIRAL DE BON
*Chief naval adviser of the French delegation
 at the Arms Conference*

tially reduced from the 90,000-ton plan proposed by Secretary Hughes. The joint meeting of Dec. 22 was devoted wholly to this issue. Lord Lee of Fareham, First Lord of the British Admiralty, speaking for the British delegation, presented a sweeping indictment of the under-seas craft. His two main points were that the submarine is ineffective as a defensive weapon and that its chief value lies in its use against merchantmen, which is not compatible with modern ideals of warfare.

Following Lord Lee's address, the spokesmen for the other delegations—Secretary Hughes, for the United States; M. Sarraut, for France; Mr. Hanihara, for Japan, and Senator Schanzer, for Italy—rose in turn to explain why they disagreed with the British view. They

were all opposed to elimination of the submarine as a weapon, either of offense or of defense: they were convinced of its effectiveness, and believed that none of the powers represented in the conference would make an inhumane use of it; they stressed the danger of giving nations outside the conference, who would retain the submarine, the advantage represented by such a renunciation, and advocated an agreement by all the powers represented with respect to regulation of submarine use.

LORD LEE'S ADDRESS

The main features of Lord Lee's memorandum, as presented in the official summary of the joint committee, were these:

Lord Lee said that the present position was one of agreement between the five powers in regard to the ratio for capital ships, but that all the powers were equally uncommitted on the subject of submarines, small craft and auxiliaries. He prefaced his argument by the following tabulation showing the submarine situation as it affected the five main nations:

	Existing Tonnage.	American Proposals.	New Bldg. Permitted.
The U. S. of Am...	83,500	90,000	6,500
Great Britain	80,500	90,000	9,500
Japan	32,200	54,000	21,800
France	28,360
Italy	18,250

*In proportion.

[These figures were later corrected by Secretary Hughes.]

Lord Lee said he found it strange to put before a conference on limitation of naval armaments proposals designed to foster and increase a type of war vessel which the British believed to be open to more objection than surface capital ships. The British position was for their complete abolition. First of all, it was contended that the submarine was the legitimate weapon of the weaker powers and was an effective and economical means of defense for any extensive coast line and for maritime communications. This argument, he said, was not technically sound. Submarines, in the present state of their development, were but a weak defense against an attacking fleet of powerfully armed, swift-moving vessels fully protected against submarine counterattacks. Germany had employed 375 U-boats of 270,000 tons in the aggregate, and of these no fewer than 203 had been sunk. In legitimate naval warfare, these U-boats had accomplished few results beyond sinking a few obsolete vessels in the early part of the war; the British Grand Fleet had not been affected throughout the war; not one

vessel had been sunk or hit, whether at sea or in harbor, by submarines. The German submarines had not prevented the passage of British light cruisers or troop ships across the English Channel, the North Sea, or the Atlantic Ocean. Some 15,000,000 British troops had crossed and recrossed the English Channel; 2,000,000 United States troops had been brought across the great sea. The U-boat, whether considered as an offensive or defensive weapon, had proved contemptible when faced by organized naval force.

Britain's experience during the war had proved to her that submarines were not effective for the defense of coast lines and communications with colonies, and hence Great Britain, to whom such defenses and communications were of paramount importance, was ready to give submarines up. The danger from their use was especially great in the case of nations that did not have command of the sea, and it was in the interest of all such nations to rid themselves of this menace. It had proved that submarines were no defense against other submarines. The real success of the submarine had been in the case of merchant ships. The German U-boats had sunk 12,000,000 tons of shipping, valued at \$1,100,000,000, not counting their cargoes. It was true that this success against merchant shipping had been achieved in defiance of all law, both human and divine. But were we to assume, asked Lord Lee, that other nations, like Germany, could not go mad in time of war and commit similar infractions of the laws of humanity? He meant no aspersion of any nation, but orders must be obeyed.

The view of the British Empire, therefore, was that the submarine should be abandoned completely. Limitation was not sufficient, for a submarine fleet could be rapidly expanded in time of war, as the industry, under limitation, would be kept alive. Abolition was the only way to eliminate this menace to the mercantile shipping of the world. The British were animated by no selfish motives in arguing for complete suppression. They recognized, however, that Great Britain was the nation most exposed to the submarine menace—the threat to the food supply on which England depended. Three-fifths of her food was dependent on sea communications. Only seven weeks' stock was normally available. This was the British Government's greatest anxiety during the war. With such a menace confronting them, was it surprising that the British people should protest against a weapon which was the negation of humanity and civilization itself?

The argument presented by England's enemies was that this was the only point of British vulnerability, the only way to strike the British Empire down, and hence that the submarine must be retained, had no force. The war had showed that the

British Empire was not easily stricken down. The British Navy in the war had constituted almost the keystone of the allied arch. Lord Lee cited the achievements of that navy to refute the imputation of purely selfish motives on the part of the British Government. There was no evidence that the conditions of 1914 might not recur. Could France run the risk of a disaster to her near neighbor and only certain ally if they did recur? He believed that the British delegation was fighting the battle not only of the allied and associated powers but of the whole civilized world in advocating the abolition of the submarine.

As to the possibility of nations outside the conference proceeding with the building of submarines, he found it impossible to believe that other powers would set themselves against the opinion of the rest of the world regarding this weapon. World opinion was a powerful weapon, and the great naval powers, if confronted by such a menace, would find means to protect themselves if necessary. Regarding the argument for the cheapness of submarine use, he said, the conference surely had no desire to make war cheap. When war had been cheap it had been almost continuous, he pointed out. The fact that Great Britain had had to maintain an average of no less than 3,000 anti-submarine surface craft



(© Harris & Ewing)

ALBERT SARRAUT

Latterly the chief spokesman for France at the conference. He retains his place as Minister of Colonies in the new Poincare Cabinet

during the war showed how expensive the submarine might prove. Great Britain desired not only a decrease of naval armament, but a decrease of expenditure. What would Great Britain gain if the old competition were transferred to submarines? Not much, as the submarine menaced Britain's very life and existence. The submarine was essentially an offensive weapon, not a by-product of any industry, such as poison gas or air bombs, with which it had proved impossible to deal. It was a weapon of murder and piracy and the drowning of non-combatants. It had been used to sink passenger ships, cargo ships and hospital ships. It was technically so constructed that it could not even rescue women and children from sinking ships. That was why he hoped it would be abolished. For defense it was inefficient, and its advantages were outweighed by its disadvantages. It would be a great disappointment if the British delegates failed to persuade this conference to get rid of this weapon, which involved so much evil to peoples who live on or by the sea.

Great Britain, to prove her sincerity, was ready to scrap her whole submarine navy, the largest and most efficient in the world, composed of 100 vessels of 80,000 tons, provided the other nations would do the same. He believed this was a greater contribution to the cause of humanity than even the

limitation of capital ships. It was, however, useless to be blind to the facts, and he realized that he could hardly hope to convince all the powers represented at the conference, though he believed that eventually all civilized nations would accept the British view. In any event, the British delegates did not intend to allow failure of submarine abolition to affect the settlement in regard to capital ships, and they stood ready to welcome any suggestions for the reduction and restriction of submarines—especially from their French colleagues—in case submarines were continued.

REPLIES OF OTHER DELEGATES

Secretary Hughes, following the conclusion of Lord Lee's address, rose to make a statement of correction. The figures supplied by the American naval experts, he said, and upon which the American proposal was based, concerning submarine tonnage built and building, did not appear to coincide with those referred to by Lord Lee. The tonnage from these American figures stood thus:

	Tons.
United States	95,000
Great Britain	82,464
France	42,850
Italy	20,228
Japan	31,400

The United States, therefore, he pointed out, had 95,000 tons, which it was prepared to reduce to 90,000, as set forth in the American proposals. The reduction was slight, but it was a reduction. It was not the intention of the United States to increase, but to reduce. [Later revised figures given by Secretary Hughes at the session of Dec. 24 estimated approximate submarine tonnage for France at 31,500; for Japan at 31,500, and for Italy at a little less than 21,000 tons.]

M. Sarraut, on behalf of France, joined with the other delegations in expressing profound disapproval of the barbarous use which was made of submarines in the late war. Both the Peace Conference and the League of Nations, however, he said, had discussed the question of submarines, and public opinion had showed itself favorable to their continuance. The French delegation believed the submarine was essentially a defensive



(Times Wide World Photos)

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI
Member of the Vice Regal Council of India,
chief delegate from British India

weapon, especially adapted to nations scantily supplied with capital ships. It could not be considered as a dominating weapon; it was undeniable that it could be used under honorable conditions, and it was certain that these conditions would be examined, discussed and formulated in accord with the lessons of the late war. The French delegation thus felt called upon to approve the use of the submarine under these restrictions. M. Sarraut pointed out that in view of the technical considerations governing their use at sea, it would be necessary for a navy to possess a number of them proportionate to the needs of national defense. He also advocated the use of submarines of the larger type, which he declared to be far more fitted for observing the law of humanity, and further declared that submarines of a large cruising radius were necessary to assure the defense of distant colonies and to maintain the long line of communications which such possessions necessitated.

Signor Schanzer, head of the Italian delegation, though recognizing the humanitarian considerations urged by Lord Lee, stated that Italy did not share the British view regarding the technical efficiency of submarines, and stressed the importance of this weapon to Italy, with its long coast line and sea communications, and the proximity of many of its most important centres to the coast. He also believed that the conference could not settle the question of submarines, in view of the absence of other powers. Italy, therefore, he said, was not in a position to associate itself with the proposal to abolish submarines, and the Italian delegation was not authorized to do so.

Mr. Hanihara said that Japan be-

[American Cartoon]



—© Chicago Tribune

The beginning of European reconstruction

lieved a legitimate use of submarines was justifiable for the purposes of national defense, but was wholly opposed to their abuse, to guard against which he proposed a modification of the international rules of war so as to embody specific prohibitions.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT

Secretary Hughes rose as Chairman to say that all could not fail to be deeply impressed by the statement made by Lord Lee on submarines. One clear and definite point of view emerged, he said, on which all the delegates present were agreed: there was no disposition to tolerate the illegal use of the submarine, and all were ready to prepare and announce to the world a statement of the intentions of the nations represented at the conference that submarines must observe the well-established principles of international law regarding visit and search in attacks on merchant ships. Mr. Hughes pointed out that even if the delegates were will-

[American Cartoon]



—Tacoma News-Tribune

What's world peace to a "bitter ender"?

ing to adopt the principle suggested by the British, they would still have to wait the adherence of other nations. The crux of the controversy was the use of the submarine as a weapon of defense. Expert differences of opinion had already manifested themselves. Each nation must be guided by its own naval experts. He would make no statement of the position of the United States at present, except to add to the expressions of detestation of the abuse of the submarine and of the illegal methods of their employment during the war. He wished, however, to read a report of the Advisory Committee appointed by President Harding to assist the American delegation—a committee of men and women representing all shades of public opinion in the United States, and headed by a distinguished Admiral of the American Navy. He read this report, not as the opinion of the

United States Government, but as the report of a committee created to advise the American delegates as to public opinion.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE'S REPORT*

Secretary Hughes then read the report that had been adopted by the Advisory Committee of the American delegation in full session on Dec. 21, 1921:

In the recent World War the submarine was used in four general ways:

- (a) Unlimited use against both enemy and neutral non-combatant merchant vessels.
- (b) Use against enemy combatant vessels.
- (c) Use as mine planters.
- (d) Use as scouts.

Whatever is said about unlimited warfare by submarines is also true of unlimited warfare by surface craft, provided the combatant wishes to violate the rules of war. The Confederate cruisers destroyed all property, but not lives. The English expected the Germans in the latter part of the World War to use surface craft for unlimited warfare and had provided means to offset this. However, the Germans with one exception were unable to get out of the North Sea. The *Moewe*, a surface ship, sank almost all merchantmen with which she came in contact, saving the lives of the crews. So that unlimited warfare is not necessarily an attribute of the submarine alone.

The unlimited use of submarines by Germany against commerce brought down upon her the wrath of the world, solidified it against the common enemy and was undoubtedly the popular cause of the United States entering the World War.

The rules of maritime warfare require a naval vessel desiring to investigate a merchant ship, first, to warn her by firing a shot across her bow, or in other ways, and then proceed with the examination of her character, make the decision in regard to her seizure, place a prize crew on her and, except under certain exceptional circumstances, bring her into port, where she may be condemned by a prize court.

The rules of procedure (1917), as laid

*For full personnel of Advisory Committee, see December CURRENT HISTORY, p. 385.

down for United States naval vessels when exercising the right of visit and search, make no exception in favor of the submarine. In the early part of the World War the German submarines exercised this right of visit and search in the same manner as surface vessels. When sunk, the papers and crew of merchant ships so visited were saved. Later, when the cases came up in a German prize court sitting on appeal at Berlin, the responsibility of the German Government was often acknowledged and indemnities paid.

When unlimited submarine warfare commenced, in some cases where necessary evidence was produced by the owners making claim in the prize court, the court decided that the matter was outside the pale of the prize regulations, though it did not deny the justice of the claim.

Assuming that a merchant ship may be halted by a submarine in a legitimate fashion, it becomes difficult, because of limited personnel, for the submarine to complete the inspection, place a prize crew on board and bring her into port. It is also difficult for her to take the passengers and crew of a large prize on board should circumstances warrant sinking the vessel. However, these remarks are applicable to small surface craft as well.

During the World War, on account of the vulnerability of the submarine and on account of the probability of its sinking the vessels it captured, the tendency was for all merchant ships (including neutrals) to arm themselves against the submarine. Such action greatly hampers the activity of the submarine and tends toward illegal acts both by the merchant vessels and by the submarine.

In other words, the general tendency of submarine warfare against commerce, even though starting according to accepted rules, was sharply toward warfare unlimited by international law or any humanitarian rules. This was because the vulnerability of the submarine led the Germans to assume and declare she was entitled to special exemptions from the accepted rules of warfare governing surface craft. The merchant ship sank the submarine if it came near enough; the submarine sought and destroyed the merchant ship without even a knowledge of nationality or guilt.

GROWTH OF LAWLESS METHODS

Submarines were largely responsible for the extensive arming of merchant vessels, neutral and belligerent, during the World War. The average merchant vessel cannot hope to arm effectively against enemy surface combatant vessels, and as a rule submits to visit and search without resistance. Prospects of saving the ship and certainty of safety to personnel have caused them to accept as the lesser risk the visit of belligerent surface vessels.

When, however, as in the World War, they met a belligerent submarine, with a strong probability of being sunk by that submarine, the law of self-preservation operated and the merchant ship resisted by every means in its power. Defensive armament was almost sure to be used offensively in an attempt to strike a first blow. The next step was for each to endeavor to sink the other on sight.

War on commerce by surface combatant craft causes change of ownership of merchant vessels only, provided the surface craft does not sink these ships, but these merchant vessels for the most part remain in service. They are not destroyed. The world does not lose them. The object of war on commerce is not to destroy shipping, but to deprive the enemy of its use. Submarine warfare on commerce, if unlimited in character, injures the enemy and greatly injures the world as well. The world is so highly organized and so dependent on ocean transportation that shipping is essential to livelihood. Without it vast populations would starve.

At present, when war breaks out, belligerent vessels tend to transfer to neutral flags and also to fly false flags. This hampers lawful warfare by submarines, as, owing to their great difficulty in making the proper visit and search, it is thus impossible for them to prevent belligerent commerce from going forward.

The net results of unlimited submarine

[American Cartoon]



—New York Tribune

We hope we may be excused if we just happen to remember an important engagement

warfare in the World War were (a) flagrant violations of international law, (b) destruction of an enormous amount of wealth, (c) unnecessary loss of many innocent lives and (d) to draw into the war many neutrals.

Unlimited submarine warfare should be outlawed. Laws should be drawn up prescribing the methods of procedure of submarines against merchant vessels, both neutral and belligerent. These rules should accord with the rules observed by surface craft. Laws should also be made which prohibit the use of false flags and offensive arming of merchant vessels. The use of false flags has already ceased in land warfare.

No one can prevent an enemy from running "amuck," but immediately he does he outlaws himself and invites sure defeat by bringing down the wrath of the world upon his head. If the submarine is required to operate under the same rule as combatant surface vessels, no objection can be raised as to its use against merchant vessels. The individual captains of submarines are no more likely to violate instructions from their Government upon this point than are captains of any other type of ship acting independently.

SUBMARINES AND WARSHIPS

Against enemy men-of-war the submarine may be likened to the advance guard on land which hides in a tree or uses under-

brush to conceal itself. If the infantry in its advance encounters an ambush, it suffers greatly, even if it is not totally annihilated. However, an ambush is entirely legitimate.

In the same fashion a submarine strikes the advancing enemy from concealment, and no nation cries out against this form of attack as illegal. Its navy simply becomes more vigilant, moves faster and uses its surface scouts to protect itself.

The submarine carries the same weapons as surface vessels, i. e., torpedoes, mines and guns. There is no prohibition of their use on surface craft, and there can be none on submarines. Submarines are particularly well adapted to use mines and torpedoes. They can approach to the desired spot without being seen, lay their mines or discharge their torpedoes and make their escape.

The best defense against them is eternal vigilance and high speed. This causes added fatigue to the personnel and greater wear to the machinery. The continual menace of submarines in the vicinity may so wear down a fleet that when it meets the enemy it will be so exhausted as to make its defeat a simple matter.

The submarine as a man-of-war has a very vital part to play. It has come to stay. It may strike without warning against combatant vessels, as surface ships may do also, but it must be required to observe the prescribed rules of surface craft when opposing merchantmen as at other times.

As a scout the submarine has great possibilities. It is the one type of vessel able to proceed unsupported into distant enemy waters and maintain itself to observe and report enemy movements. At present its principal handicaps are poor habitability and lack of radio power to transmit its information. However, these may be overcome in some degree in the future. Here, again, the submarine has come to stay. It has great value, a legitimate use, and no nation can decry its employment in this fashion.

[Here followed a statement of the proposal of the United States for limitation of naval armament, so far as submarines are concerned, as made at the opening session of the conference.] The report then continued:

A nation possessing a great merchant marine protected by a strong surface navy naturally does not desire the added threat of submarine warfare brought against it. This is particularly the case if that nation gains its livelihood through overseas commerce. If the surface navy of such a nation were required to leave its home waters, it would be greatly to its advantage if the submarine threat were removed. This could be accomplished by limiting the size of the submarine so that it would be restricted to defensive operation in its own home waters.

On the other hand, if a nation has not a large merchant marine, but is dependent

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle
Something to howl about

upon sea-borne commerce from territory close at hand, it would be necessary to carry war to her. It would be very natural for that nation to desire a large submarine force to attack the approaches on the sea and to attack troop transports, supply ships, &c., of the enemy. Control of the surface of the sea only by the attacking power would not eliminate it from constant exposure and loss by submarine attacks.

ATTITUDE OF UNITED STATES

The United States would never desire its navy to undertake unlimited submarine warfare. In fact, the spirit of fair play of the people would bring about the downfall of the Administration which attempted to sanction its use. However, submarines acting legitimately from bases in our distant possessions would harass and greatly disturb an enemy attempting operations against them. They might even delay the fall of these possessions until our fleet could assemble and commence major operations.

It will be impossible for our fleet to protect our two long coast lines properly at all times. Submarines located at bases along both coasts will be useful as scouts and to attack any enemy who should desire to make raids on exposed positions.

The submarine is particularly an instrument of weak naval powers. The business of the world is carried on upon the surface of the sea. Any navy which is dominant on the surface prefers to rely on that superiority, while navies comparatively weak may but threaten that dominance by developing a new form of attack to attain success through surprise. Hence submarines have offered and secured advantages until the method of successful counter-attack has been developed.

The United States Navy lacks a proper number of cruisers. The few we have would be unable to cover the necessary area to obtain information. Submarines could greatly assist them, as they cannot be driven in by enemy scouts.

The cost per annum of maintaining 100,000 tons of submarines, fully manned and ready, is about thirty million dollars. For the work which will be required of them in an emergency, this cost is small when taken in connection with the entire navy.

The retention of a large submarine force may at some future time result in the United States holding its outlying possessions. If these colonies once fall, the expenditure of men necessary to recapture them will be tremendous and may result in a drawn war which would really be a United States defeat. The United States needs a large submarine force to protect its interests.

The committee is therefore of the opinion that unlimited warfare by submarines on commerce should be outlawed. The right of visit and search must be exercised by submarines under the same rules as for

[American Cartoon]



Nelson H. Hinkle
—Brooklyn Eagle

Not exactly our idea of the dove and the olive branch

surface vessels. It does not approve limitation in size of submarines.

After reading the Advisory Committee's report, Secretary Hughes closed the session with a short statement to the effect that the American delegation would carefully consider the arguments set forth by the British delegation, and would consult American experts.

The report of the Advisory Committee was attacked by the National Council for Limitation of Armament on Dec. 27 as not correctly representing American public opinion regarding submarines. Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary of the Council, appealed to the Advisory Committee on that date to revise its opinion that the submarine was a necessary weapon of defense for America, but that its use in violation of recognized rules of visit and search should be outlawed. The appeal asked the committee to reconvene, and to take up the question again in the light of public opinion as recorded by the Subcommittee on Public Information of

[American Cartoon]



—Los Angeles Times

The foursome

the Advisory Committee since the Advisory Committee's report was submitted. Mr. Libby declared in his letter that "the statement made by Secretary Hughes before the conference regarding 'the widespread sentiment against the submarine in the United States,' bears out the conviction that your report is not in harmony with opinion in America today, which we are sure you wish faithfully to represent." Hundreds of thousands of names and opinions, it was made known, had been registered with the Subcommittee on Information referred to in favor of the abolition of undersea craft.

FRANCE REJECTS BRITAIN'S PLEA

The debate on submarines was resumed at the third joint session of the two committees, Dec. 23. At this session the difference existing between the French and British views came out into sharp relief. Admiral

de Bon, speaking for the French Government, combated the arguments of Lord Lee as set forth at the preceding session, and presented to the conference, sitting as a committee of the whole, an elaborate statement of the French view in favor of retaining the submarine as a defensive weapon. Briefly stated, his argument was that the submarine had proved its effectiveness as a weapon of defense against warships and the protection of coasts, that it had a right to figure as an integral part of naval forces, that the Germans had abused it during the war, and that the 90,000 tons proposed by the American plan was the minimum submarine strength that any important naval power should have. He advocated, therefore, that this quota be assigned to France.

Mr. Balfour made a strong argument in rebuttal of Admiral de Bon's views, and in support of Lord Lee, reiterating the belief of the British delegation that the suppression of the submarine would be in the national interests of both France and Italy. Signor Schanzer for Italy declared that the arguments employed by the British delegates only justified the Italian position favoring the retention of submarines as a protection for Italy's coasts. Neither the United States nor Japan participated in the debate at this session. Following is a summary of the official report of the session:

Admiral de Bon began the argument for France by declaring that the statement by Lord Lee favoring the abolition of the submarine had presented the most forcible arguments that could be brought to bear upon this side of the question. On the other hand, he pointed out that the report of the American Advisory Committee, as read by Secretary Hughes, had presented arguments of incontestable value for the reverse of the British view and in favor of the preservation of the submarine under due regulation. It would seem, he said, that these two statements had exhausted all arguments that could be used either pro or contra. There were, however, certain differences of opinion regarding the various arguments which it seemed desirable to clarify before the committee.

The first of these was the question of the submarine's effectiveness both as a weapon of offense and defense. During

the war France had lost three battleships and five cruisers and had had several other ships torpedoed, incurring a total loss of 130,000 tons. Great Britain and Italy had also lost a certain number of battleships. Germany had not maintained her coasts intact, moreover, merely by the barrier of mines with which those coasts had been protected. These could have been crossed by any force supplied with mine sweepers had not a force of submarines rendered approach really dangerous. Submarines in the Adriatic, also, had proved one of the most powerful means of action by the enemy. The Allies had felt submarine power in the Dardanelles and during the long months at Gallipoli.

As a means of attack against warships, as well as for scouting and wireless purposes and a means of general weakening of enemy morale, said Admiral de Bon, the submarine had proved its worth. It had showed itself especially effective against the merchant marine. Germany's results in this direction were known to all, and had struck terror to all peoples. But what had inspired this terror was not the fact that

German submarines had attacked merchant shipping; it was that they had violated neutrality, had attacked steamers loaded with noncombatants, even transports bearing the wounded, flying the Red Cross flag. It had always been admissible to attack an enemy's merchant marine as one of the most effective means of seriously crippling one's adversary, and he believed it would always be considered legitimate. Would it not be less cruel and wasteful of human life than direct military force, if one might bring one's adversaries to their knees through use of the submarine? This could be done especially in the blockade, which is a legitimate practice, the effects of which would not be confined to the submarine.

CURBING INHUMAN METHODS

The Admiral then briefly reviewed the origin and motives of the inhuman practices adopted by Germany in her unlimited submarine war, to point his view that if the use of the submarine against enemy shipping were allowed it would have to be confined within certain limits of humanity.

The Germans, by attacking neutral ships and torpedoing passenger ships and hospital ships without warning, had lost the respect of the world for the submarine. The speaker then pointed out how the Germans could have waged this warfare differently, giving warning to a vessel that it would be sunk, bringing it to a place of safety, removing the crew, and not sinking the ship until all these humane preliminaries had been observed. The submarines would not have been exposed to any greater risks by adopting this procedure than the frigate and corsairs of other days.

The undersea craft, in short, must be curbed. A proper set of rules should be drawn up with this object in view and adopted when the rules of international law in application to all life at sea in time of war are made subject to revision. Even under these limitations, submarine warfare could be very effective. Lord Lee had recalled the hours of anguish lived through when Great Britain, and at times France, had been threatened with deprivation of the supplies on which the very life of the nation depended. But this was submarine warfare at its inhumane worst. Within proper limitations, it was legitimate and could be very important. Admiral de Bon then took up the moral argument urged by Lord Lee and combated the view that submarine commanders were bound to in-

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle
THE CHINESE PUZZLE

fringe the code of humanity in the heat of passions engendered by war. He did not believe that any Government would risk hereafter incurring such a responsibility.

A submarine was useful for fighting war fleets, for fighting merchant marines. It was the opinion of the French delegation that it was especially the weapon of nations not possessing a large navy. Its cheapness made it possible to build a large number at a cost far below that of capital ships. As for the cost of maintaining a counter-submarine fleet referred to by Lord Lee, Admiral de Bon emphasized the fact that France could utilize a considerable number of elements drawn from both the merchant marine and fishing vessels. Defensive measures might thus be considerably reduced. Furthermore, this was a general argument which might be applied to any other naval weapon. In fact, it seemed that henceforth the submarine had the right to figure as an integral part of naval force. Though at first, as with every new weapon, it had come upon its adversaries when they were without sufficient defense, and thus had caused great damage, from now on, as Lord Lee had emphasized, it would be greatly limited, as the risks of its own destruction had greatly increased. The Admiral did not agree that its activities had become ineffective, but it was possible to think that the struggle against the submarine might now be carried on under conditions comparable to that of any action between warships. There was no doubt that further great progress would be made in two directions—in the submarine's power of attack and in the efficiency of methods of combating its operations. The progress of human ingenuity could not be stopped. The Admiral drew a vivid picture of the possibilities of the submarine as an agent of attack and protection in naval warfare of the future and intimated that the submarine had come to stay.

The French spokesman then took up the question of what minimum of submarine tonnage was necessary. The French figures on the number of U-boats kept in service by Germany out of her fleet of 320 undersea vessels were slightly different from those presented by Lord Lee. Not ten, but fifteen or twenty, the French figures showed, were kept available at one time. The American Advisory Committee had estimated 90,000 tons as necessary for the United States

and Great Britain. This would represent about ninety submarines of an average of 1,000 tons, and thus some fifteen or twenty for continuous action. This seemed the minimum possible for any nation desiring to make use of this weapon. The Admiral ended by declaring that he would oppose any attempt to reduce this minimum. In his opinion, it was the absolute minimum for all navies desiring to use a submarine force.

MR. BALFOUR'S REPLY

Mr. Balfour, head of the British delegation, replied to the French argument for continuation of the submarine as a war weapon. He combated the French view that the destruction of commerce by submarines was legitimate, and cited the findings of the Advisory Committee in favor of the British view that such an employment of the submarine was inhumane. It was, he intimated, bound

[Austrian Cartoon]



—Die Muskete, Vienna

FRANCE SOWING HATRED

"All French communications to Germany and Austria bear this postage stamp"

to be inhumane. Mr. Balfour said at this point:

Let me ask upon this question of destruction of commerce on the high seas by means of submarines, is there any man who has listened to this debate, is there any man who knows what occurred in the late war, is there any man who knows what must occur in the course of any future war, who doubts that if submarines are sent on their dangerous and difficult mission on the high seas—one of the most difficult and most dangerous as well as one of the most disagreeable tasks which can be imposed upon a sailor—it is for something more important than the remote chance of destroying some well guarded and efficient ship of war, and that if they are once let loose to deal with merchantmen it is incredible that in the stress of war their powers will not be abused in the future as they have been so grossly abused in the past?

Mr. Balfour did not deny the other useful objects which could be attained through the submarine, its ability to attack warships, its serviceability for scouting, &c. The main object, however, he declared, was clear—the destruction of commerce—and he made clear the attitude of the British delegation on that point. He further declared that Admiral de Bon had exaggerated the utility of submarines for genuine war purposes. He declared of his own personal knowledge that Germany had not enjoyed immunity for her coasts during the war because of her possession of submarines. He further did not believe that submarines were a valid defense against any sudden attack by a ship of war on an unprotected coast. They had not protected the English coast against sudden attacks by German ships sent swiftly across the North Sea. They had not protected the German forces at Zeebrugge against bombardment by British ships. Their effect in the Dardanelles had been insignificant. The real issue, however, he defined as follows:

The question before us now is whether you are going to encourage an instrument of war which, if it be encouraged—if, indeed, permitted at all—will undoubtedly be used in the illegitimate destruction of commerce.

Who, asked Mr. Balfour, is going

to be injured by that? Not Japan, not the United States, self-contained and independent of imports. But what of Italy, which for the purposes of this debate counted almost as an island. He recalled the extreme difficulty experienced by the Allies in the war to supply Italy even with the minimum of coal necessary to keep her arsenals and manufactories going. He doubted if Italy could feed herself, supply herself, or continue as an efficient fighting force if she were really blockaded. The continuance of the submarine would put it in the power of every nation to make itself a formidable enemy. Italy had five maritime neighbors in the Mediterranean. The speaker hoped that eternal peace would reign in those waters, but the cold and calculating point of view of a member of a general staff would lead him to say to Italy: "You have five neighbors, each one of which can, if it so desires, blockade your coast and make your position untenable, without having a single surface ship of war at its disposal."

And what was the case of France? France was nearly self-supporting in point of food, with a great land frontier giving her direct access to all the great markets of the world. She has a position of great military security from the side of the sea. But from the land side M. Briand had pointed out to the conference the existing military danger, against which France required a large army, and might even, in the future, again require assistance from overseas, across the Atlantic or across the Channel. This new French argument, "this encouragement of submarines, this passionate declaration that it would be almost criminal to interfere with the growth of this promising, though at present infantile, weapon of war—how is that going to be met?" Admiral de Bon had said the small craft necessary to deal with submarines could be drawn from merchant ships and from the fishing population. But during the war it was Great Britain, not France, that had furnished the

[American Cartoon]



—Baltimore Sun

SHE NEEDS THE SAME REMEDY

bulk of such vessels which finally broke the U-boat blockade. "It was the British craft that did it, not the Italian or French craft," Mr. Balfour declared. He gave the figures to prove his contention: France, 257 ships; Italy, 288 ships; Great Britain, 3,676 ships.

As for Admiral de Bon's declaration that you could not stop the progress of humanity, Mr. Balfour said:

I confess that in so far as the progress of humanity consists in inventing new methods of warfare, I would stop it tomorrow if I could, and this conference cannot set itself to a better work than to stop it as far as it can be stopped. I believe it can be stopped in the matter of submarines, if we all decide to do it. I believe the conscience of mankind would help us. I believe that public opinion would be on our side.

But if we cannot do it, then let us thoroughly realize that permission for submarines is not only an increase to the burdens of the taxpaying world; it not only adds to the cost of the navies, at all events in countries which are threatened by other peoples' submarines; it adds greatly to the cost of those navies by the non-military organization, so to speak, which it requires to have ready, and it adds largely to the number of States which can potentially and without any cost in battleships and without any huge estimates add themselves not to the list of nations anxious merely for self-

defense, but to the list of those nations who wish to supplement their desire for an aggressive policy upon land by adding to their power on the sea.

Mr. Balfour closed his argument with a reassertion that the motive of Great Britain in proposing the abolition of the submarine was not one of fear. He did not underestimate the difficulties his country had had to struggle against to overcome the submarine menace, but the necessity had brought its own remedy, and England had shown she could prevent her own destruction. It was England's great naval population, its great fishing population, that had ultimately brought protection. No other country could provide that defense against submarines. It was not lodged elsewhere. Britain would have to provide it for France and for Italy under similar circumstances. The position of England was strong. The submarine menace would increase her national expenditure, but it would not imperil her security. He did not know whether all those at that table could speak with equal confidence of their position.

SCHANZER SPEAKS FOR ITALY

Signor Schanzer, head of the Italian delegation, began his reply by expressing his country's gratitude for England's efficient aid during the war. He also wished to express his thanks for Mr. Balfour's important observations on Italy's vulnerability to blockade from the Mediterranean and to offensive action by as many as five maritime neighbors. Nothing he could himself have said could justify better the position that the Italian delegation had assumed in this debate. Mr. Balfour had said submarines constitute no real defense for coasts; that instead of guaranteeing the security of supplies to a country dependent on the sea, they endanger those supplies, and that they could be used by hostile neighbors in blockading her shores. There was here, said Signor Schanzer, a substantial difference in expert opinion. The au-

thority of Lord Lee and Mr. Balfour was undoubtedly great, but there were technical experts of great authority who insisted on the necessity of maintaining the submarine as a defensive weapon, and this opinion was shared by the Italian experts and the Italian Government.

Italy was ready to study the whole subject further, but Signor Schanzer made plain his belief that it was impossible to decide on the abolition of the submarine at present, inasmuch as many of the States that could avail themselves of this dangerous weapon were not represented in the conference. If such a decision were taken, he pointed out, the nations participating would be placing themselves in a position of manifest inferiority in respect to the States not represented. The Italian delegation believed, therefore, that the problem must be examined at another and wider conference. For the present the best course would be to follow the spirit of the American proposal, and to limit submarines to the extent necessary for a purely defensive policy.

Admiral de Bon rose to say, in partial reply to Mr. Balfour, that he had never wished to support the theory, which was neither his Government's nor his own, that submarines had the right to destroy merchant vessels after having saved the crews. Mr. Balfour declared in turn that he had no desire to misrepresent Admiral de Bon, and that what he had attempted to show was that if the submarine was to play the great role in future wars which the Admiral had suggested, it could do so only by resort to extreme methods. It was futile, he declared, to suppose that submarines would make a practice of stopping merchant ships and placing prize crews on board to take them into port.

The session then adjourned, with the submarine debate still unfinished.

NEW PHASE OF THE DEBATE

The fourth joint session of the two naval committees, which occurred on the morning of Dec. 24, was marked

by new proposals made by Secretary Hughes, the Chairman, regarding the limit of submarines acceptable to the United States. The compromise proposed was briefly this: The maximum tonnage for the United States and Great Britain was to be reduced from 90,000 to 60,000 tons; the measure for Japan, France and Italy was to remain roughly at the status quo, estimated for Japan at 31,500 tons, for France at 31,500 tons, and for Italy at 21,000 tons. The British delegation accepted the reduction at the afternoon session, but the Japanese, French and Italian delegations declined to accept the quota allowed to their respective Governments, and no definite result was reached. The Japanese representatives refused to consider any reduction from the 5-5-3 ratio already agreed upon, declaring that the 54,000 tonnage under this ratio was the minimum consistent with Japan's defensive needs. The French declared that the new tonnage assigned to France was below the minimum considered necessary, and that they must await advices from the home Government before any decision was reached. The Italians, on their part, following their announced policy of parity, declined to accept a submarine tonnage less than that allotted to France.

The debate on the British proposal of abolition in the morning session began with another French statement by M. Sarraut. He reiterated the French Government's desire for the retention of the submarine, and pointed out the great danger that nations not represented in the conference might misconstrue any attempt to abolish, and to force them to abolish, a naval weapon considered by them as a valuable means of national defense. The motives of certain members of the conference, particularly those still possessing a large naval armament in capital ships, he pointed out, were more than likely to be impugned. These outside nations could neither be persuaded nor coerced, as had been seen during the

Peace Conference at Paris and in the League of Nations, and it was wholly undesirable that any of the outside nations should gain the impression that they were being dictated to in matters concerning their own sovereignty and theories of defense. Let the tonnage in capital ships be limited—that was well—but as to a defensive navy, each country best knew its own needs.

Mr. Balfour presented again the British side of the argument. His words made a deep impression on all the delegates, although most of them were opposed to the solution which he advocated. Mr. Balfour answered M. Sarraut's arguments in detail. France, he said, having put an end to all chance of even discussing disarmament by land, "now proceeds to develop her sea policy, and her sea policy embraces the creation of a vast submarine fleet." Suppose that the French fears of new German aggression were realized, he said, and that some 60,000,000 or 70,000,000 Germans were supplied with submarines to wage a naval war on France. What could France do to cope with this new situation? No number of submarines—which were, he maintained, a weapon of offense, not of defense—could help her to protect her own merchant ships or the transports of her neighbors and friends. Her only protection would be in that large maritime population of England already referred to, and France would be dependent on England's anti-submarine craft for ultimate protection. How was that consistent with the large fleet of submarines planned by France, which, from a strategical and geographical point of view, might seem directed against no one more than Great Britain herself?

Mr. Balfour knew, he said, that M. Sarraut, in his expressions of friendship for Great Britain, had uttered not one word in excess of the truth. He added, however:

I know it represents what comes from his heart, but no present expression of goodwill, however sincere, can control the future. We must take account of facts, and when

we try to combine the military policy announced by M. Briand with the naval policy announced by Admiral de Bon we cannot fail to see that there is a naval and a military scheme strangely inherent and inconsistent. Men will inevitably ask themselves, "What is the ultimate end underlying all that is being done? Against whom is this submarine fleet being built? What purpose is it to serve? What danger to France is it intended to guard against?" I know of no satisfactory answer to such questions.

The British spokesman also combated the view of M. Sarraut regarding the outside nations. The last thing such smaller powers would do, he declared, was to resent an international arrangement by which the use of submarine fleets was forbidden, or to say that this was an example of "British arrogance, pride and tyranny." If they considered the influence of Great Britain at all, they knew that that influence had always been exercised on the side of liberty. He certainly would not be prevented from doing his best to bring about this great moral reform in the use of weapons of war by fear of "even the bitterest and most unscrupulous calumny."

M. Sarraut in rebuttal pointed out the connection between France's land armaments and her need for submarines, which Mr. Balfour had confessed himself unable to understand. Both were for defense. France was compelled to make a double effort, both military and naval. France had no proud aspirations for naval power; this was proved by her acceptance of the capital ship tonnage which had been allotted to her. She had asked for submarines. For what purpose—to attack her neighbors? Such a suspicion did not merit a reply. France was confronted by a situation of fact. Besides her continental coastlines she possessed also a colonial domain whose ramifications are spread all over the world. She must have the weapon needed to defend those possessions and the safety of her transports and lines of communication. He had had absolutely no desire to impugn the motives of Great Britain, and had only warned against the dan-

ger for all those assembled of any suspicion of having attempted to reduce to vassalage those powers, large or small, which had not participated in the conference. He admitted that the might and safety of Britain constituted one of the essential safeguards of the peace of the world and of the progress of civilization. Great Britain herself, by her course in the war, had largely contributed to the overthrow of any hegemony by any nation in the world. But the susceptibilities of certain peoples must nevertheless be respected. The small ones also had the right to express their views and to make their voices heard. The creation of a will to peace in the world can be based only on confidence and a spirit of justice. This is the deep conviction which must be imparted to all nations, but they must be persuaded of this, not by having it forced on them, but by letting it penetrate gently into their minds.

SECRETARY HUGHES'S STATEMENT

Secretary Hughes followed M. Sarraut. It was clear, he said, that a decision could not be reached on the matter just discussed. He added, however, that the arguments set forth by Mr. Balfour were deeply impressive, both because of the spirit with which they were permeated, and because of "the manifest desire to present and enforce, against apparently hopeless odds, a proposition which was deemed important for the maintenance of the peace of the world and for such an adjustment of weapons of war as might favor the maintenance of conditions of peace." He wished to express his profound sympathy with what Mr. Balfour and Lord Lee had said; their arguments had derived force not only from humanitarian sentiment, not only from abhorrence of the atrocities of submarine warfare, but also because they were buttressed by facts drawn from Great Britain's own experience. The strong American sentiment against the submarine—the feeling that as

an offensive weapon it should be outlawed—would be powerfully reinforced by what had been said. The words of Mr. Balfour and Lord Lee would carry far beyond this conference, and might be ultimately successful in inducing the nations to forego the use of a weapon which, as Mr. Balfour had urged, was valuable only as an aggressive weapon, and then only in the form of aggression condemned by humanity and international law. President Harding, said Mr. Hughes, had been equally impressed by the strength of the arguments for abolition, and the United States was ready to give the problem its most serious consideration when it became feasible to take the matter up again.

What could now be done? The powers participating in the conference were bound, he believed, not to use the conference "to impinge upon the full liberty of discussion of those desiring to be heard in a matter relating to their defense." Full discussion, however, could not but be useful; and he hoped that this discussion would lead the five powers to agree to a denunciation of the illegal methods of submarine warfare and in favor of the application of the principles of international law. The moment had now come for an expression of views on concrete proposals for limitation of submarines.

The only response to this invitation made at this time was by Mr. Balfour, who voiced his thanks, and those of the whole British delegation, for the words that Mr. Hughes had spoken. "We regard your utterance," he said, "as a great step forward, and we do not doubt that it will find an echo in all parts of the civilized world, and will greatly promote the cause we have so much at heart." He then asked to have placed upon the record the views of the entire British delegation, which would take the following shape:

The British Empire delegation desires formally to place on record its opinion that the use of submarines, while of small value for defensive purposes, leads inevitably to acts which are inconsistent with the laws of

war and the dictates of humanity, and the delegation desires that united action should be taken by all nations to forbid their maintenance, construction or employment.

THE NEW AMERICAN PROPOSAL

It was at this point that Chairman Hughes presented to the joint committees the new American proposals for the relative ratios for submarine strength. Instead of the 90,400 tons allowed as a maximum under the original plan, the United States, he said, was now ready to accept a maximum of 60,000 tons, thus scrapping 35,000 tons of the existing submarine tonnage, on the understanding that Great Britain should also accept 60,000 tons for her maximum tonnage, and scrap 22,464 tons—her present amount of submarine tonnage being 82,464 tons, according to the American figures; and that Japan, France and Italy should retain the tonnage they now have. In reply to a query by Lord Lee, Mr. Hughes gave the present submarine tonnage of these last named three countries as follows: Japan, 31,452 tons; France, 31,391 tons; Italy somewhat less than 21,000 tons. A tabulation showing the old plan, in contrast with the new, is given below:

SUBMARINE TONNAGE LIMITS

Country.	Old Plan.	New Plan.
United States	90,000	60,000
Great Britain	90,000	60,000
Japan	54,000	*31,500
France	Not decided	*31,500
Italy	Not decided	*21,000

*The status quo.

The discussion of the new American proposals was reserved for the afternoon session, which was the fifth joint meeting of the main Committee on Limitation of Armament and the Subcommittee on Naval Limitation. The official bulletin stated that "the discussion concerning the limitation of submarine tonnage was continued, and Mr. Balfour accepted, on behalf of the British Empire, the American proposal that the maximum submarine tonnage for the American and British navies should be 60,000 tons." The communique then gave, either verbatim or in

paraphrase, the comments of the other delegations.

Signor Schanzer pointed out that, as Mr. Balfour himself had shown the day before, Italy could make special claims as regards her need of light craft and submarines to protect her exposed coasts and to assure her food supplies from the sea side. He also pointed out the insufficient nature of the existing submarine flotilla. During the war Italy had found her submarines too small to cope with the situation, and had had to rely on the co-operation of French and British submarines. Since the armistice the Italian Government had demolished thirty submarines. It was left with forty-three in active service and four under construction, a total of 20,250 tons. Only ten of the forty-three were of any use. Since the others were of 700-tons displacement, they would have to be successively replaced. Despite these conditions, and despite the view of the Italian naval experts that the quota of 31,500 tons in submarines was not sufficient in its relation to the 175,000 tons in capital ships already accepted, Italy was ready to accept the quota of 31,500 tons, on condition that France received no more. In plain words, Signor Schanzer voiced Italy's rejection of the quota of 21,000 tons proposed by the new plan, and insisted on receiving the same quota as that allowed to France.

Mr. Hanihara for Japan said that although the Japanese delegates had been deeply impressed by the British arguments for abolition, they had not been convinced that the submarine was ineffective or unnecessary as a weapon of defense. Japan had already made it clear that the 5-5-3 ratio, alike for capital ships and submarines, meant to her a sacrifice. In respect to submarines, this ratio would have given her 54,000 tons. This was considered, so far as Japan was concerned, the lowest minimum of submarine tonnage with which the insular position of Japan could be defended. The new proposal, which

meant that Japan would have only 31,500 tons, was wholly inadequate. The delegation, therefore, felt constrained to insist on the tonnage assigned under the first American plan. Mr. Hanihara stressed self-defense as the motive for this attitude, and pointed out that Japan's remote geographical position made it plain that her submarines could not constitute a menace against any other nation.

M. Sarraut, for France, stated that as the new American plan contemplated a considerable reduction from the minimum considered necessary for the French Government, his delegation had no recourse but to await instructions.

Closing the day's program, a suggestion was made by Mr. Balfour that a technical examination be made of the system of naval tons and the measure of tonnage. Every nation represented in the conference, he pointed out, had a different standard, which made for confusion. Chairman Hughes suggested that such an examination be referred to a subcommittee of two experts from each delegation, to determine what constituted a standard ton. The following committee was thus formed:

UNITED STATES—Admiral Taylor and Admiral Pratt.

BRITISH EMPIRE—Real Admiral Sir Ernle Chatfield and Instruction Commander Stanton.

FRANCE—Captain Frochot and Captain Dupuy-Dutemps.

ITALY—Vice Admiral Baron Acton and Commander Prince Fabrizio Ruspoli.

JAPAN—(Not named at this session).

British public opinion strongly tended to the belief that in the three days' debate at Washington the British delegation had won a moral victory. Arthur J. Balfour, as head of that delegation, received warm praise in the British press on Dec. 28. France's claims for a large fleet of submarines were generally attacked, and the French were charged with the ambition of seeking to become the greatest submarine power in the world. In France, on the other hand, the French claims were warmly defended. France's determination to

have a powerful fleet, and French nationalist objections to the submarine limitation efforts of the Washington conference, were vigorously voiced in the French Senate and in the Paris press. During the course of interpellations in the Senate on Dec. 27, an important statement was elicited from Minister of Marine Guisthau by Senator de Kerguezec, who defended the submarine as an essential weapon of defense, though urging that it be confined to military uses instead of being applied to torpedoing commerce. Minister Guisthau, in response to this, declared that nothing had been proposed at Washington that would reduce France's auxiliary naval power. In further answer to intimations that the Senate would ratify no agreement until it had examined and passed on it, the Minister gave assurance that no decisions reached at Washington would be effective until the French Parliament approved them.

On hearing M. Guisthau's statement, the Naval Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 28 decided to invite the Minister to uphold energetically the naval interests of France. The resolution passed declared that France required an adequate fleet to assure the defense of her coasts, her colonies and her communications. The committee was presided over by Pierre Dupuy, and the motion was presented by Jules Cels, former Under Secretary for the Navy.

FRANCE REJECTS NEW PLAN

Meanwhile the final decision on submarine limitation waited on the response of the French Government. This response was presented by the French delegation at Washington in the sixth joint session of the two committees, Dec. 28. France, on the ground of her needs for national defense, refused flatly to accept an allotment of submarines less than 90,000 tons, and also refused a quota of less than 330,000 tons for auxiliary craft. She confirmed, however, her acceptance of the 1.75 ratio for capital ships, with slight modifications

regarding replacement. Secretary Hughes, after M. Sarraut, Minister of Colonies for France, had transmitted this decision, expressed his disappointment over this outcome, which seemed to make any agreement on submarine and auxiliary craft limitation impossible. He was, however, gratified by France's acceptance of the ratio laid down for capital ships.

The British delegation, through Mr. Balfour, expressed even keener disappointment, and the session resolved itself into a debate—the most heated the conference had yet had—between M. Sarraut and Mr. Balfour. The discussion reached a point where both delegates were openly discussing what would be done by their respective Governments in case of war between them, and in the event that France carried out her ambitious plan for submarine expansion. Mr. Balfour made it clear that if this program were carried out, Great Britain would accept no limitation for the light craft adapted to fight submarines. This serious turn of the debate hinged on a remark of Mr. Balfour that France wanted a large fleet of submarines to attack merchant vessels, and for no other reason, with the clear implication that the chief party menaced was Great Britain. This M. Sarraut warmly resented. France, he declared, had not charged Great Britain with harboring hostile designs on her neighbor across the Channel because of her retaining 525,000 tons in capital ships. Why, then, should Great Britain suspect France of such designs in connection with her submarine requirements? Lord Lee, Senator Schanzer, Mr. Hanihara and Secretary Hughes also took a hand in the debate, the upshot of which was that France's decision had made all agreement on submarines and auxiliary craft impossible, and that the various delegations deeply regretted this turn of affairs.

The speech in which M. Sarraut had announced the French Government's decision, and which provoked

the historic debate just summarized, was given out as follows—in the official translation:

At the last meeting of the committee and as the outcome of the examination of the submarine question, a proposal was made to fix for each of the nations represented in the conference the submarine tonnage that it might possess. Instead of the 90,000 tons required by France, it was proposed that this tonnage should be limited as far as she is concerned to 31,500 tons. Confronted by such a considerable reduction of the figures which had been given as the minimum of what France considered necessary for herself in future, the French delegation was obliged to refer the matter to its Government.

At a meeting of the Cabinet and of the Supreme Council of National Defense, the situation was examined and discussed with the most earnest desire to do whatever would seem possible to further the aim of the conference and assist in reaching results. This deliberate intention has been carried out in the resolution passed at the meeting as regards capital ships.

As a token of the good-will of France, it has been resolved to accept the reduction to 175,000 tons of her tonnage of capital ships, although it seems nearly impossible with such reduced tonnage to constitute a naval force composed of ships such as those which it is contemplated to build, and one normally organized, according to the tactical principles in force in every fleet.

The conditions of application of the agreement as regards capital ships will be easy of settlement by taking into account such qualifications as it may be useful to introduce in carrying out the naval holiday through the liberty of laying down, beginning in 1927, ships intended to replace, within the limits of the admitted tonnage, French ships as they reached their twentieth year of existence. It will be likewise easy to settle the question still outstanding of the duration of the agreement as to limitation of capital ship tonnage.

After examining, on the other hand, the composition of the forces needed by France in auxiliary craft and submarines, which are specially intended for the protection of the colonies and their communications, the Cabinet and the Supreme Council of National Defense have reached the conclusion that it is impossible to accept a limitation below that of 330,000 tons for auxiliary craft and 90,000 tons for submarines, without imperiling the vital interests of the country and its colonies and the safety of their naval life. The French delegation has been instructed to consent to no concession on the above figures.

To sum up, France accepts, as regards capital ships, the sacrifice which she must face in order to meet the views of the conference, and which represents an important

reduction of her normal sea power. She limits the program of the future constitution of her fleet to 330,000 tons for auxiliary craft and to 90,000 tons for submarines.

Though regretting that she cannot possibly, under the present circumstances, entirely carry out the reductions and limitations contemplated in the American proposal, she at least feels quite certain that she is taking an important share in the work of the conference by reducing the French naval power in capital ships, a weapon specifically offensive and particularly costly, and by accepting a limitation for craft of other categories.

RESPONSE OF MR. HUGHES

Secretary Hughes's speech in reply to the foregoing was given out in the following official summary:

The Chairman said that the committee had heard the statement on behalf of the French Government. It was a definitive statement, made after careful deliberation, and he assumed that it should be accepted as the final expression of the attitude of the French Government in regard to the limitation of naval armament. He was greatly gratified at the willingness of the French Government to limit the tonnage of its capital ships to 175,000 tons. He felt that the importance of this statement should not in any way be minimized.

Capital ships were the chief weapon of offense. If the conference could succeed, as it was now evident that it would, in reducing in a fairly satisfactory manner armament as represented in capital ships, it would have done much to relieve the burden of taxation and would aid in establishing a better basis for a lasting peace. He wished to repeat that he was highly gratified and appreciated the manner in which the problem had been approached by the French Government. He understood that there were, however, certain reservations with respect to replacements and the duration of the agreement. These matters must receive further consideration and be the subject of continued negotiations.

He confessed that he was disappointed with the statement concerning submarines and auxiliary ships. If submarines were to be available for distinctly defensive purposes in connection with the movements of fleets, it would seem that they should bear some definite proportion to the fighting fleets; that is, if they were to be used in connection with the laying of mines, scouting, &c.—the necessities inherent in large defensive preparations—they should bear some relation to the operations of the fleet as a whole. The suggestion that France should have 90,000 tons of submarines would, on any basis of a practicable ratio, involve the assumption that Great Britain and the United States should

greatly increase their submarine tonnage. This could hardly be called a limitation or reduction. Furthermore, if a large number of submarines were to be provided, then cruisers and destroyers, the natural enemies of submarines, would have to be provided in numbers adequate to deal with the situation created by a large submarine fleet. It was a serious question whether there was hope of accomplishing anything like limitation in regard to submarines and auxiliary craft. He understood that the attitude of the French Government was that, regardless of the requirements of other nations, 90,000 tons of submarines were deemed to be the minimum essential for France.

If this was so, the suggestion of 330,000 tons of auxiliary vessels for France would have its bearings on what was considered necessary for the other nations and might make it difficult to arrive at an agreement limiting submarines and auxiliary craft. He did not desire at this time and in view of the existing situation to discuss details, but he wished to say that an agreement for the expansion of armament was not under consideration. The conference was called to consider the limitation of armament. He left it for the committee to decide in the light of the very definite statement of the French Government what was practicable to be done.

In conclusion, he wished to say that in expressing his disappointment in regard to submarines, he did not wish in any way to detract from the importance of the definite acceptance by France of the program for capital ships. This was a matter of the first importance and he could assure his French colleagues that their attitude was cordially and sincerely appreciated.

MR. BALFOUR'S PROTEST

The official paraphrase of Mr. Balfour's British protest was as follows:

Mr. Balfour admitted, as the Chairman had justly pointed out, that there was a side to the statement just made by their French colleagues which profoundly disappointed him. The French position with regard to disarmament on land they already knew. What was their position with regard to disarmament at sea?

They were prepared, and he rejoiced that they were prepared, to accept the ratio which gave them 175,000 tons of capital ships. He was glad that the French Government had accepted that all-important part of the American program, and he agreed that if nothing else was done by the conference in reference to naval disarmament the scheme already in sight with regard to the limitation of capital ships did immensely relieve the burden of armament upon an overburdened world. He did not feel himself that the sacrifice on the part of France was in itself of an over-

whelming character, even as regards capital ships, for he thought that if the naval strength of a nation was to be estimated in relation to the naval strength of other nations it would be found that the relative strength of France under the arrangement already accepted as regards capital ships would be increased. He did not begrudge her that increase. He rejoiced in it.

But when he turned from the matter of capital ships to the matter of other craft, he confessed that a very different picture met the eye. The French proposed to increase the number of submarines three-fold. If they carried out that intention, it was evident that they would not only be equal to the other two greatest naval powers, America and Britain, in point of tonnage, but that they would have a very much larger proportion of submarines of a newer type than either of them. He understood the submarine was still in process of development; it was still adding to its powers of offense, and each new model was an improvement on the capacity of its predecessors for commerce destruction.

Thus it was certain that when that program was carried out the French quota of submarines would exceed that of any other power in the world. It had further to be noted that their French colleagues accompanied their views of the necessity of submarines with the announcement that they intended greatly to increase the tonnage of their auxiliary craft. It must be acknowledged that this constituted a somewhat singular contribution to the labors of a conference called for the diminution of armament. Considered in conjunction with refusal of the French delegation to discuss land armament, this position must cause anxiety and disappointment to those who had come to the conference with high hopes regarding the limitation of naval armaments. Furthermore, it had to be observed that the pleasure derived from the agreement with regard to the limitation of capital ships was subject to a qualification.

He understood that the French intended to begin replacing ships in 1927. This seemed to be a serious interference with the principle of a ten-year naval holiday, but that was only a small part of the anxiety and disappointment which the French program had created in his mind. They had now come forward with a great building program of submarines and auxiliary craft. He was perfectly unable to conceive how that could be regarded as a defensive policy.

If submarines were to be used as a strictly military weapon, in the manner contemplated by the American Advisory Committee, how came it that a fleet of capital ships limited to 175,000 tons required 90,000 tons of submarines to scout for it and protect it? And if 90,000 tons of submarines were really required for a fleet of 175,000 tons of capital ships, how many submarines would America and Britain require to build to assist their fleets of 500-

000 tons? It was perfectly obvious that the proposed 90,000 tons of submarines were intended to destroy commerce. They could not be intended for any other purpose.

It therefore appeared that at a moment when we were all assembled to discuss the limitation of armaments we were asked to agree to their increase, and that a country which did not desire to be among the first three naval powers in the world proposed nevertheless to build instruments of illegitimate warfare to an extent equal in numbers and superior in efficiency to those legitimately required by any other fleet in the world. We should therefore have the melancholy spectacle of a conference called for the limitation of armament resulting in a vast increase in the very weapon which the most civilized elements in all civilized countries condemned. For the moment we need say no more. The whole of this controversy would again come up before the public conference. For this occasion he reserved himself.

He must, however, dwell shortly on the effect which the French declaration of naval policy must inevitably produce upon British opinion. It was perfectly clear that if at our very gates a fleet of 90,000 tons of submarines, 60,000 of which were to be of the newest type, was to be constructed, no limitation of any kind of auxiliary vessels capable of dealing with submarines could be admitted by the Government which he represented. Public notice had now been given in the most formal manner that this great fleet was to be built on the shores nearest Britain, and it would necessarily be a very great menace to her. He had no doubt if the occasion ever arose that Britain would be equal to it, but it was on condition that we reserved the full right of Britain to build any auxiliary craft which she considered necessary to deal with the situation.

Signor Schanzer, for Italy, also expressed his deep regret that it was impossible to reach an understanding concerning auxiliary craft and submarines. He feared that the absence of such an understanding would give new impetus to competition in naval armament along these lines, which would have a serious financial effect on all the countries interested. Both economically and politically, he said, the decision of France might prove momentous to Italy, especially because the solution of the land armament problem had been deferred.

Vice Minister Hanihara, for Japan, stressed the importance of the capital ship agreement "as a great step forward" toward relief from the

heavy burden of armament. It was, however, he said, the Japanese view that it would be a great misfortune if the conference failed to agree on the limitation of auxiliary combatant craft. His delegation did not wish to claim freedom for building such craft, but to support the original American proposal of Nov. 12, and to aid in assuring the success of the conference along this line.

It was evident, Mr. Hughes said, that no agreement could be reached on the basis suggested by France, and also apparent that other powers desired freedom of action for the construction of anti-submarine auxiliary craft.

SARRAUT DEFENDS FRANCE

M. Sarraut then took the floor to say that the decisions of his Government had given rise to certain observations which he could not allow to remain unanswered. He spoke as follows:

To tell the truth, gentlemen, I am not here to make comment on the orders of my Government, which possess an authority and a value sufficient in themselves; the decisions which I have just communicated to you have been carefully considered by the highest authorities representing national sovereignty in my country. I have received them respectfully from their hands and have brought them just as they stand to the conference.

It is my duty, however—and I perform this duty in the perfectly friendly spirit which has never ceased to animate the French delegation—to take up the allegations which have just been made, certain ones of which I find wholly unacceptable.

Certain delegations, while testifying to their satisfaction in seeing France accept the reduced proportion of capital ships which has been determined for her, have expressed a real disappointment on learning that the French Government was unable to make similar sacrifices in other classes of vessels. Allow me to say that this disappointment, if it really exists, will call forth a similar feeling in my own country when it is learned there how the amount of tonnage allotted to France has been authoritatively determined without taking any account of her manifest needs and of the absolute necessities of her defense—for the security which no country is justified in trusting to the good offices of its neighbors.

It is this idea, this conception of the true

needs and interests of France and of her colonies, which has inspired the decisions of the French Government; it is this idea which is both the measure and the limit of their demand; and it is in no way influenced by any comparison with what our neighbors are doing or by any anxiety to measure our naval force against theirs.

Herein lies the profound difference between our point of view and those of others. We have not apportioned our needs and our demands by carefully examining the consequences to the French navy of the increase of the naval power of certain neighboring countries with whom we cherish, under the happiest of conditions, relations of friendship, co-operation and alliance. We are not guided by any fear of what their strength may be, precisely because they are friends. Great Britain, with her 525,000 tons of capital ships, will possess a fleet of great vessels stronger than the corresponding fleets of France and Italy put together.

So be it; we ourselves do not take offense. We are not the least in the world haunted by this eventuality, no more than we are apprehensive of the fact that the fleets of the other friendly nations, the United States and Japan, will be considerably increased in comparison with our fleet.

Why, then, they say, is a submarine fleet such as is demanded by France a necessity for her? Do we quibble over the needs of the others? Do we call into question their possible intentions? Do we suspect them? Assuredly we shall not do so. It is not only the right but the duty of each country to assure its safety by its own means, and it is perfectly possible to consider this problem without being haunted by the idea of a possible aggression on the part of a neighbor. That others should apply to us such a method of reasoning while we do not think of applying it to them we cannot permit in any way. This would be still more painful to us, would appear to us more especially inadmissible at this table around which we are gathered in a spirit of the most cordial co-operation, at the very moment when, in bringing the answer of France in the matter of capital ships, we are furnishing the most positive proof of the effective participation of our country in the success of the great ideals of peace aimed at by this conference.

If our answer is not the same for other categories as it is for capital ships, this is because the tonnages which we have indicated correspond to material needs of defense, to necessities of protection which must no longer be denied, for we shall not cease to affirm them strongly. We have no desire to destroy merchant vessels, as Mr. Balfour has said; we have formally declared the contrary here, and this declaration was echoed not later than yesterday in the French Senate. But France has coast lines which she must defend; she has also, and above all, a great colonial domain,

second in importance only to that of Great Britain, which is distributed over all the seas, and concerning which we also may have, I presume, our anxiety as to its defense, its police, and its surveillance.

We have the duty of safeguarding the communications of these colonies with the mother country, and I have already said here that in case of war the safe transport of our troops overseas to the mother country would be among the first of our obligations. This is not a mere theory. Have we not in the last war seen a belligerent transform merchant ships into auxiliary cruisers or into privateers to torpedo our transports; and has not this been done against all the allied navies? And should it cause surprise here to see the Minister of Colonies of France take account of colonial considerations and call to mind that our colonial empire, though some would seem to be ignorant of it, really exists, and that its needs, as well as its interests, must be strongly affirmed, defended, protected, especially in the matter of safe communications with the mother country?

I reiterate that the French delegation is bound by formal instructions from its Government. This is a fact of which it reminds you anew. It cannot deviate from them. I wish to repeat again that it is impossible for me to hear it said, without protesting, without asserting the contrary, that there was an inevitable and necessary correlation between what we are obliged to do and what our neighbors would deem themselves obliged to do.

Nor do we admit that there is an indispensable and logical correlation between the proportion of a country's naval force in capital ships and the proportion of its auxiliary craft and submarines. That is an abstract rule which you thought you ought to lay down here. But we have shown why we could not recognize it. We are guided by our needs, duly stated, proved, legitimized.

It is this rule, and no other thought, which dominate our feelings on the submarine question. We object to having it believed or to having it said that the creation by France of a defensive weapon involving a certain tonnage of submarines could be considered as a menace to any of her friends.

If such a thought were to weigh all too heavily on our deliberations, if I found myself obliged to defend my country here against such a suspicion, this would indeed result in eliminating the hopefulness and the enthusiasm with which I have so far collaborated in the work of relieving the burden of armaments, in accord with the desire of France as clearly manifested by the sacrifice to which she has consented in the matter of capital ships.

But, to tell the truth, I am not likely to be discouraged in this matter. The work is too fine and too generously humanitarian to permit our efforts and our good will to

grow weary. They will remain faithful to the end to the noble project aimed at by this conference.

PERIL TO GREAT BRITAIN

The British answer to this was given out in the following summary:

Mr. Balfour said that M. Sarraut was the last man in the world whom he would suspect of hostile intentions toward his country, but the speech which M. Sarraut had just delivered was sufficient to show that he had not really understood the way in which Britain regarded the question now under consideration.

Mr. Balfour begged him to consider one or two elementary facts without which he would not understand the position of the British Empire. While it was almost unthinkable that their respective countries could be on anything but the most cordial terms, one must not overlook the teaching of history. Britain had had many conflicts with France, though happily in the distant past.

Britain had always been superior in naval armament and always inferior in land forces. Never in the history of France had she had to fear the power of Great Britain to strike a blow at her heart. In the nature of things that must be so. No inferior military power had ever yet been able to invade or seriously imperil a superior military power merely because she had more ships.

Suppose the almost inconceivable happened and close allies became enemies, it was perfectly clear that in that case no British superiority of capital ships would imperil the life of France for an hour. To be fair, he must admit that it might conceivably imperil some remote islands belonging to France; but France, with her land armament, would remain secure in the face of superior sea power.

Now compare the position of France in the face of a superior British surface fleet with the position of Britain in the face of France with the largest submarine fleet in the world. She could use that fleet, if she chose, for commerce destruction, and it was difficult to believe that in time of stress she would not so use it. If Britain were unarmed against submarines, it was evident that France, using that felonious weapon, could destroy her very existence.

Therefore, it was quite impossible for Britain to treat the submarine fleet with the serene and friendly philosophy shown by M. Sarraut in connection with the British fleet of capital ships. M. Sarraut talked of the absolute necessity for France of possessing a fleet of 90,000 tons of submarines. For what purpose? Not to cooperate with a fleet of 175,000 tons of capital ships. It was altogether out of proportion. What did he want the 90,000 tons of

submarines for? According to him, it was not for commerce destruction; it was for the protection of France's lines of communication.

There was no doubt that submarines were powerful for the destruction of lines of communication, but they were powerless to protect them. M. Sarraut would not obtain security for his lines of communication by those means. For those purposes they were useless, or nearly useless. They were powerful weapons for one purpose, and for one purpose only, namely, the destruction of commerce; and it was not unreasonable that Great Britain, when threatened by the establishment within a few miles of her coasts of a vast fleet of submarines which were of no use except to destroy commerce, should say candidly that she could not look with indifference upon the situation that would be thus created.

He regretted that he had been compelled to insist upon an aspect of the question which he would gladly have left undealt with. He did not yield to M. Sarraut in his conviction that the good feeling existing between his own country and their great ally across the Channel would remain unshaken through all the changes which time might bring.

The long and animated debate here reached its logical end. It was stated by Secretary Hughes, and generally acknowledged by the conference, that the refusal by France had made further progress impossible. The discussion then initiated on the subject of tonnage and gun limitation for auxiliary craft will be found treated under the appropriate sub-head further along in these pages. The next large question discussed centred about the resolutions offered by Mr. Elihu Root at this same session of Dec. 28 asking the conference to declare formally that the submarine could not be legally used against merchant shipping. The debate precipitated on this proposal is recorded in the pages that follow.

The London press reacted strongly to France's refusal to modify her submarine and auxiliary craft program, declaring that the world's hope was thus defeated. France was likened to the former Germany in the role she was now playing, and unfavorable omens were drawn as to the future relations between France and Great Britain. The London Times endorsed the view, already expressed by Mr. Balfour, that the French program

would necessitate a counter-building program on the part of Great Britain. The dangers of French isolation were generally emphasized.

The Paris Temps, on the other hand, declared that the French viewpoint was still imperfectly understood. It said in part:

France put forward at Washington a claim which, in the minds of her plenipotentiaries, was purely theoretical, demanding that, when her financial condition permitted, she should take a fitting place in the consortium of great naval powers, which base sea peace on their armored forces, and she sacrificed the demand in the interests of the peace of the world.

Can she agree to further sacrifices? The whole country is behind the Parliament and the Government on this point. She cannot abandon the right to defend herself. If some day soon we have to transport once more our Algerian and Moroccan divisions to the Rhine, it will be under the protection of our dreadnoughts, light cruisers and submarines.

THE ROOT RESOLUTIONS ON SUBMARINES

One of the most momentous results achieved by the arms conference was the passing of a series of resolutions drawn up and presented in their first form by Elihu Root of the American delegation at the joint session of the Committees on Limitation of Armament and Naval Limitation, held on Dec. 28, and finally adopted in their entirety at the sessions of Jan. 5 and Jan. 6, 1922. The resolutions formally condemned the illegal use of the submarine as a weapon of naval warfare. Resolution I. stated the existing law, as universally recognized by the civilized world, and prohibited submarines from attacking merchant vessels unless these laws could be observed. Resolution II. embodied an invitation to all the world powers to give their assent to these proposals. Resolution III. went still further; it recognized the virtual impossibility of using submarines as commerce destroyers without violation of law, and bound the conference powers to prohibit such use among themselves. Resolution IV. made not only all submarine commanders, but the commanders of any ships guilty of such

transgression, liable to punishment for piracy.

Resolutions I., II. and III. were adopted at the session of Jan. 5; Resolution IV. at the session of Jan. 6. The official text of all four resolutions, as finally passed, is as follows:

I.

The signatory powers, desiring to make more effective the rules adopted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants at sea in time of war, declare that among those rules the following are to be deemed an established part of international law:

(1) *A merchant vessel must be ordered to submit to visit and search to determine its character before it can be seized.*

A merchant vessel must not be attacked unless it refuses to submit to visit and search after warning or to proceed as directed after seizure.

A merchant vessel must not be destroyed unless the crew and passengers have been first placed in safety.

(2) *Belligerent submarines are not under any circumstances exempt from the universal rules above stated, and if a submarine cannot capture a merchant vessel in conformity with these rules, the existing law of nations requires it to desist from attack and from seizure and to permit the merchant vessel to proceed unmolested.*

II.

The signatory powers invite all other civilized powers to express their assent to the foregoing statement of established law so that there may be a clear public understanding throughout the world of the standards of conduct by which the public opinion of the world is to pass judgment upon future belligerents.

III.

The signatory powers recognize the practical impossibility of using submarines as commerce destroyers without violating, as they were violated in the recent war of 1914-1918, the requirements, universally accepted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants, and to the end that the prohibition of the use of submarines as commerce destroyers shall be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations they now accept that prohibition as henceforth binding as between themselves and they invite all other nations to adhere thereto.

IV.

The signatory powers, desiring to insure the enforcement of the humane rules of existing law declared by them with respect to attacks upon and the seizure and destruction of merchant ships, further declare that any person in the service of any power who shall violate any of these rules, whether or

not such person is under orders of a governmental superior, shall be deemed to have violated the laws of war and shall be liable to trial and punishment as if for an act of piracy and may be brought to trial before the civil or military authorities of any power within the jurisdiction of which he may be found.

These resolutions, as first presented by Mr. Root at the session of Dec. 28, came as a climax to the three days' debate on submarine limitation, in the course of which Mr. Balfour, as spokesman for the entire British Empire delegation, made a strong but unsuccessful plea for the total abolition of the submarine by all civilized powers. The British plea failed because of the attitude taken by the French, Italian and Japanese delegations backed by instructions from their Governments, and even by the United States, that the submarine had real utility as a defensive weapon, and that the conference powers, by abolishing this agency, would place themselves at a great disadvantage with respect to the nations not represented. The French Government's flat refusal to accept anything less than a submarine fleet of 90,000 tons brought that phase of the conference to an impasse.

All the more electrifying, therefore, were the resolutions offered by Mr. Root on Dec. 28, which, on the very ground urged by Mr. Balfour, namely, the impossibility of using the submarine against merchant shipping without infringing the accepted laws of humanity, asked the conference and the world to agree that such use should be prohibited.

THE ORIGINAL PROPOSALS

In order to understand the stages by which the foregoing document was shaped, it is necessary to examine Mr. Root's original proposals (Dec. 28.), which were as follows:

I.

The signatory powers, desiring to make more effective the rules adopted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of neutrals and noncombatants at sea in time of war, declare that among those rules the following are to be deemed an established part of international law:

1. A merchant vessel must be ordered to stop for visit and search to determine its character before it can be captured.

A merchant vessel must not be attacked unless it refuses to stop for visit and search after warning.

A merchant vessel must not be destroyed unless the crew and passengers have been first placed in safety.

2. Belligerent submarines are not under any circumstances exempt from the universal rules above stated, and if a submarine cannot capture a merchant vessel in conformity with these rules the existing law of nations requires it to desist from attack and from capture and to permit the merchant vessel to proceed unmolested.

The signatory powers invite the adherence of all the civilized powers to the foregoing statement of established law to the end that there may be a clear public understanding throughout the world of the standards of conduct by which the public opinion of the world is to pass judgment upon future belligerents.

II.

The signatory powers recognize the practical impossibility of using submarines as commerce destroyers without violating the requirements universally accepted by civilized nations for the protection of the lives of the neutrals and noncombatants and, to the end that the prohibition of such use shall be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations, they declare their assent to such prohibition and invite all other nations to adhere thereto.

III.

The signatory powers, desiring to insure the enforcement of the humane rules declared by them with respect to the prohibition of the use of submarines in warfare, further declare that any person in the service of any of the powers adopting these rules who shall violate any of the rules thus adopted, whether or not such person is under orders of a governmental superior, shall be deemed to have violated the laws of war, and shall be liable to trial and punishment as if for an act of piracy, and may be brought to trial before the civil or military authorities of any such powers within the jurisdiction of which he may be found.

OPENING OF THE DEBATE

All the delegations expressed sympathy with the spirit of these resolutions from the outset. The text was distributed for examination and study, and debate upon them was opened at the session of Dec. 29. When that session closed, the first part of the Root proposals had been unanimously accepted in principle.

All the members of the American delegation spoke in its favor.

Secretary Hughes, in opening the morning session of that day, proposed that the discussion at that time be confined to the first part of the Root proposals, which summarized the existing rules of war regarding attacks on merchant ships and declared that the submarine was not exempt from those regulations. Mr. Balfour said that he was in favor of reaffirming those rules. Admiral de Bon for France stated that his delegation would welcome every opportunity to condemn the use Germany had made of her submarines during the war, but he, as well as Signor Schanzer for Italy and Mr. Hanihara for Japan, though favoring the spirit of the proposals, expressed a desire to have the resolutions submitted to a committee of jurists to test the correctness of the international principles laid down by Mr. Root, and to redraft the resolutions if it should prove necessary. Signor Schanzer made the point that the second part of the Root proposal, forbidding all use of submarines against merchant craft, was not in agreement with the first part. He further believed that it would be useful to give a clear definition of merchant craft in order to make them recognizable and to establish plainly in which cases a submarine shall abstain from attacking a ship, and in which cases, on the contrary, attack is to be permitted, as, for example, in the case of a merchantman regularly armed, or of a privateer.

Sir Robert Borden, representing Canada on the British delegation, pointed out that the Root proposal in its second part was intended to mark a notable and most desirable advance on the existing rules governing international warfare. This part urged that the prohibition of illegal use of the submarine should be universally accepted as a part of the law of nations, and asked the conference nations to declare their assent to such prohibition, and to invite all other nations to adhere

thereto. Though he believed that this was wise, he also believed that the exact wording should be carefully examined, and, like the other delegates who had spoken, he favored submitting the proposal to a body of experts, provided that this would not prevent action by the conference. He specially stressed his country's approval of the clause which made a lawless submarine commander liable to punishment for piracy, and cited a case where twenty Canadian nurses had been drowned during the war as the result of the torpedoing of a hospital ship.

MR. ROOT ON HIS OWN RESOLUTIONS

Mr. Root arose to reply specifically to the points made by Signor Schanzer. He said in part:

As to the agreement of Article I. of the resolutions now before the committee with the second article relative to the prohibition of making use of submarines as commerce destroyers, which he deems inconsistent with Article I.:

Article I. is a statement of existing law; Article II., if adopted, would constitute a change from the existing law, and, therefore, it is impossible to say that it is not inconsistent. If it were not inconsistent, there would be no change. Article II. could not be consistent with Article I. and still make a change.

Senator Schanzer also suggests that the resolution be completed, including a definition of "a merchant ship." Throughout all the long history of international law no term has been better understood than the term "a merchant ship." It could not be made clearer by the addition of definitions, which would only serve to weaken and confuse it. The merchant ship, its treatment, its rights, its protection, and its immunities are at the base of the law of nations. Nothing is more clearly or better understood than the subject we call the merchant ship.

Now, with regard to the proposal to refer this matter to a committee of lawyers, far be it from me to say anything derogatory to the members of the profession of which I have been an humble member for more years than I care to remember. They are the salt of the earth; they are the noblest work of God; they are superior in intellect and authority to all other people whatsoever. But both this conference and my own life are approaching their termination. I do not wish these resolutions to be in the hands of a commission even of lawyers after we adjourn.

I supposed when we adjourned yesterday and after what had been said concerning the opportunity for critical examination, that the different delegations would call in their own experts and ask their advice with regard to this resolution, which is now the only one before the committee. I had supposed that the experts in international law brought here for the purpose of advising, would have been asked whether this was a correct statement of the rules and that we would have here today the result of that inquiry.

I would like to say that I am entitled to know whether any delegation questions this statement of existing international law. You are all in favor of the principle of the resolution if it is correct. Does this or does it not state the law of nations as it exists? If it does, you are all in favor of it. What then hinders its adoption?

Senator Schanzer in describing the action of submarines with regard to merchant vessels repeated on his own behalf the very words of this resolution. The very words—*ipsissimis verbis*—of this resolution may be found in Senator Schanzer's remarks. My respect for the learning, experience and ability of the various delegates around this table forbids me to doubt that every one here is perfectly familiar with the rules and usages as stated in the first clause of Article I. This does not purport to be a codification of the laws of nations as regards merchant vessels or to contain all the rules. It says that the following are to be deemed among the existing rules of international law. The time has come to reaffirm them:

1. A merchant vessel must be ordered to stop for visit and search to determine its character before it can be captured.

Do we not all know that is true? It is a long-established principle.

2. A merchant vessel must not be attacked unless it refuses to stop for visit and search after warning.

3. A merchant vessel must not be destroyed unless the crew and passengers have first been placed in safety.

Is there any question whatever as to the correctness of these statements? * * * This is only elementary. The object of the resolution is to form something which will crystallize public opinion of the world. It was made perfectly simple on purpose.

AN IMPASSIONED APPEAL

Then follows a principle of vital importance, on which I challenge denial. If all the lawyers in the world should get together they could not decide the question more conclusively. The public opinion of the world says that the submarine is not under any circumstances exempt from the rules above stated, and if so, they cannot capture merchant vessels. This is of the greatest importance. That is a negation of the assertion of Germany in the war that

if a submarine could not capture a merchant vessel in accord with established rules the rules must fail and the submarine was entitled to make the capture. The public opinion of the civilized world has denied this and has rendered its judgment in the action that won the war. It was the revolt of humanity against the position of Germany that led to Germany's defeat.

Is that not a true rendering of the opinion of the civilized world which we seek to express? My friends and colleagues, this is real life we are dealing with here. This is no perfunctory business for a committee of lawyers. It is a statement of action and of undisputed principles universally known and not open to discussion, put in such a form that it may crystallize the public opinion of the world, that there may be no doubt in any future war whether the kind of action that sent down the *Lusitania* is legitimate war or piracy.

This conference was called for what? For the limitation of armament. But limitation is not the end, only the means. It is the belief of the world that this conference was convened to promote the peace of the world—to relieve mankind of the horrors and the losses and the intolerable burdens of war.

We cannot justify ourselves in separating without some declaration that will give voice to the humane opinion of the world upon this subject, which was the most vital, the most heartfelt, the most stirring to the conscience and to the feeling of the people of all our countries of anything that occurred during the late war. I feel to the depth of my heart that the man who was responsible for sinking the *Lusitania* committed an act of piracy. I know that all my countrymen with whom I have had intercourse feel the same, and I should be ashamed to go on with this conference without some declaration, some pronouncement, which will give voice to the feeling and furnish an opportunity for the crystallization of the opinion of mankind in the establishment of a rule which will make it plain to all the world that no man can commit such an act again without being stigmatized as a pirate.

ACTION AT THE HAGUE

There are two ways in which this question that Germany raised about the right of submarines to disobey the rules of international law—what they said in the way of destroying a merchant vessel—can be settled. With the whole dominion of the air unregulated by international law, with the score of difficult questions staring us in the face (such as blockade, contraband and other questions in the field of law), there was a recommendation made by the committee of jurists which assembled at The Hague last year, 1920, upon the invitation of the Council of the League of Nations, to devise and report a plan for an international court of justice.

[Mr. Root then described the meeting of that commission, and quoted in full the resolution finally passed by it favoring the calling of a new conference of the nations for the purpose of restating the established rules of international law, especially in the fields affected by the events of the recent war, of amending them where necessary and of considering new regulations not covered by the existing international law. That recommendation, he said, was communicated to the Council of the League of Nations and referred by it in a somewhat modified form to the League Assembly, which rejected it. "The door was closed," said Mr. Root. He continued:]

Where do we stand? Is this not to be a world regulated by law? What are our disarmaments worth if we give our assent to the proposition that the impulse of the moment, the unregulated and unconstrained instincts of brute force, shall rule the world and that there shall be no law? If there is to be a law, somebody must move.

There is no adequate law now with regard to submarines. There is no law now regarding aircraft. There is no law now regarding poisonous gases, and somebody must move. The door to a conference is closed, and here we are met in a solemn conference of the five greatest powers upon the limitation of armaments and charged to do something toward the peace of the world. This resolution proposes to restate the rules of war that have been trampled under foot, flouted and disregarded. This resolution proposes that we assert again the domination of those humane rules for the protection of human life, and that we discredit and condemn the attempt to overturn them. This resolution proposes to tell what we really believe, that we characterize as it ought to be characterized the attempt to overturn the rules impressed by humanity upon the conduct of its Governments.

Mr. Root then urged an immediate vote on his resolutions, declaring: "Either we speak clearly and intelligently the voice of humanity, which has sent us here, and to which we must report, or that voice will speak for itself, and, speaking without us, will be our condemnation." He added one last explanation:

I omitted, in answering Senator Schanzer's question regarding the relations between Articles I. and II., to say that of course, if the second article were adopted by all the world, it would supersede Article I. This, however, would be a long, slow process, and during the interval the law as it stands must apply until an agreement is reached. Article I. also explains in authorized form the existing law, and can be brought forward when the public asks what changes are proposed. In proposing a change it is necessary to make clear what the law now

is. It is very important to link this authoritative statement in Article I. with the new principle proposed in Article II.

ADOPTING THE RESOLUTIONS

The remainder of the morning session was devoted to suggestions for clarifying and developing the resolutions. When the committees met in their ninth joint session that afternoon (Dec. 29) they formally adopted Article I. In the discussion of changes Mr. Root showed entire willingness that the resolutions should go through the process known to parliamentarians as "perfection by amendment." All the heads of delegations took part in the debate, and after Secretary Hughes had spoken again in favor of Article I., he finally put it to the vote of the conference, subject to such verbal changes as might be made by the Drafting Committee still to be appointed. After each delegation had signified its consent, the Chairman announced that the article had been unanimously carried, and requested the delegations to appoint their representatives on the Drafting Committee whose task it would be to shape the phraseology. Mr. Root had been designated to serve in that capacity for the American delegation, he said. The Subcommittee on Drafting, as finally constituted, was made up thus:

United States—Mr. Root.
British Empire—Sir Auckland Geddes.
France—Vice Admiral de Bon and M. Kammerer.
Italy—Signor Ricci.
Japan—Mr. Hanihara.

Article II. was then taken up, but it was found impossible to adopt it formally at this session. It provided for agreement that submarines should not be used against merchant shipping in any way whatsoever, inasmuch as this was impossible without violating the principles of humanity. The delegates showed an inclination to defer action on this until it could be studied further. Secretary Hughes pointed out that it was in effect a proposition to change the law

already restated in Article I.; the law which had been ignored and trampled upon, but which, nevertheless, was still regarded as internationally obligatory. The new resolution would mean that the civilized world was asked to outlaw the submarine as a weapon against commerce. He also pointed out that the assent of the nations present, under the last words of the resolution, would be binding only if the resolution became a part of international law, not if other nations, by their refusal, prevented it from becoming a general international principle.

Mr. Root rose to confirm this interpretation. Mr. Balfour, referring to Mr. Root's statement that the powers here represented were only pledging themselves to induce other nations, if possible, to support a great reform, asked if it was not possible to go a little further; why should the five nations not agree among themselves to act on the rule which Mr. Root proposed? Instead of merely adopting a resolution which would be inoperative until generally adopted, why not adopt immediately the principles which they desired to see eventually embodied in international law?

Mr. Root in reply laid down the broad principles governing the constitution of international law, notably the general rule that international law requires universal acceptance. He saw, however, no objection to the nations represented giving their own prior and individual assent, and cited as a precedent the process by which the Constitution of the United States was amended by a progressive vote of all the States, the amendment not becoming valid until all the States had voted in its favor. Such an assent, preliminary to ratification by the other nations of the world, and providing that the five powers represented at this conference should be bound by such a prohibition as between each other, he declared, would make for security and good understanding.

A SIMPLE RULE THE BEST

Mr. Root further discussed the policy of making the prohibition broad and not detailed. A detailed prohibition could not be enforced, he said. The wisdom of a broad prohibition did not rest on theory, but on their memory of the most painful events of recent times. To the world's indignant protests to the torpedoing of innocent merchant ships and the blowing up of captured vessels the Germans had replied that it was impossible for the submarines to comply with the rules made to govern the actions of surface craft. Germany declared it to be impossible, said Mr. Root, and it was impossible. The submarine could not take a great load of passengers into its small interior, where air had to be furnished artificially. The distress of the passengers and crew left to die was obvious. The United States admitted that the submarine had no alternative, but instead of accepting the decision that the rule must fail it adopted the other alternative, that all such warfare must end. There was no fact more firmly established than that a belligerent nation would not resist the temptation to gain its point at whatever cost, and this would always stand between the submarines and compliance with the rules of civilized procedure. The only way to secure the safety of innocent noncombatants was to pass a simple and enforceable rule like the one proposed, prohibiting an attack which could not be made without breaking the rule. The public opinion of all civilized countries would give it sufficient support; no nation would willingly face the punishment of world condemnation.

Secretary Hughes then restated the proposals before the committee, including Mr. Balfour's separate motion that the five nations present record their individual assent. Mr. Balfour put his motion to amend the last part of Article II. (it later became Article III.) in the following definite form:

They declare their assent to such prohibition and they agree to be bound forthwith thereby as between themselves, and they invite all other nations to adhere to the present agreement.

NEW FRANCO-BRITISH CLASH

The debate on the Root resolution was resumed at the session held on Dec. 30, the tenth joint meeting. A sensation was produced early in the discussion by Lord Lee. Renewing his attack upon the French attitude on submarines and declaring that the French, by passing the Root resolution, had a splendid opportunity to reassure the British Admiralty regarding France's future use of the submarine weapon, he read in justification of the British apprehensions an article published two years ago in a French naval magazine by one Captain Castex, now Chief of Staff for the Second French Naval Division, who defended the German methods of employing the underseas boats during the war. The seriousness of this lay in the fact that Captain Castex had but recently been designated as principal lecturer to the senior officers' courses for the year 1922, and unless a change of French policy occurred, would be "pouring what we regard as this infamy and this poison into the ears of the serving officers of the French Navy." Lord Lee cited particularly the concluding paragraph:

Thanks to the submarine, after many centuries of effort; thanks to the ingenuity of man, the instrument, the system, the martingale is at hand which will overthrow for good and all the naval power of the British Empire.

After depicting the fears and the bitterness which the British felt over the thought that their late comrades in arms and present allies should contemplate the possibility of such warfare and such designs, Lord Lee closed with a new appeal to the French to pass the Root resolution, and thus regain the ground that France had lost through this misunderstanding.

M. Sarraut and Admiral de Bon

both made vigorous replies, repudiating emphatically the views of Captain Castex as an expression of the policy of the French Navy. M. Sarraut took occasion to deplore the hostile propaganda of which France was continually the victim.

The session had opened with a statement by both the French and Italian delegations to the effect that, pending the receipt of instructions from their home Governments, they thought any present discussion of submarines would be unprofitable. Thereupon Lord Lee launched his verbal broadside, speaking in part as follows:

I quite appreciate the position in which we stand in the absence of complete instructions to two of the most important delegations here. I cannot help feeling that in the minds of the French delegation and Government there exists some misunderstanding as to the attitude of the British Government in regard to submarines which it is desirable to clear up before the French Government commits itself in regard to the second resolution.

I cannot help feeling that here we have a unique opportunity for the French delegation and Government to reassure the British Admiralty and public opinion in regard to this matter, of which I hope they will avail themselves. * * * The difficulty is (and this is a point that our Admiralty and our naval staff have to face), we are not clear what are the views of the French naval staff on this matter of the utilization of submarines in time of war. * * *

M. Briand quoted the other day in his memorable speech the atrocious sentiments expressed by General Ludendorff and by von Moltke, sentiments which still constitute in his view a menace to France and which it is essential that France should guard herself against. It is, therefore, I hope, not improper nor in any sense provocative if I have to call attention to the kind of statement, the kind of suggestion of policy which is openly made in high and responsible quarters of the French Naval General Staff in connection with the use of submarines.

If, as I believe, they do not represent the views of the French Government, if, as I hope and believe, they will be at once repudiated, and in an effective manner, then possibly our apprehensions and the attitude which we are compelled to adopt with regard to the use of submarines in war may be very largely modified. I feel bound to give chapter and verse to illustrate the anxiety we feel in regard to this matter. There was published quite recently in the *Revue Maritime*, a technical and official

publication published in January, 1920, under the direction of the French Naval General Staff, a series of articles now incorporated, I believe, in "*Synthese de la Guerre Sous-Marine*" by Capitaine de Frégate Castex, who at that time was chief of one of the important bureaus of the French Naval Staff; who is now Chief of Staff to the Admiral of the Second Division of the Mediterranean and who has just been designated as principal lecturer to the senior officers' courses for the next year.

VIEWS OF CAPTAIN CASTEX

Therefore I am not quoting some retired naval officer writing from his club. We all suffer from such gentlemen, who propound extraordinary theories. I am speaking now of a responsible officer of the French Naval Staff in a high position, who wrote in particular an article on "Piracy," in which after some preliminary observations destined to throw ridicule on those who criticised the German methods in the late war and treat them with great contempt, he proceeds to say this:

"In the first place, before throwing stones at the Germans we should have recalled that this war of the torpedo was, like so many other novelties of our planet, the application of an idea, which in its origin was essentially French."

Then he quotes in support of his view the doctrine which had been laid down some years ago by Admiral Aube, who was a very distinguished and celebrated French Minister of Marine, who had used the following words when speaking of the use of the torpedo from a torpedo boat [Captain Castex goes on to point out that they are equally applicable to the submarine today]:

"Will the torpedo boat tell the Captain of the liner that it is there, that it is lying in wait for him, that it can sink him, and in consequence take him prisoner? In one word, will it seize its prize by platonic methods? On the contrary, at an appropriate distance, and unseen, the torpedo boat will follow the liner which it marks out for its victim. In the dead of night, quietly, silently, it will send to the abyss the liner, cargo, passengers and crew. Then with a mind not only serene, but fully satisfied with the results achieved, the Captain of the torpedo boat will continue his cruise."

He continues:

"The Germans, as is their wont, have only appropriated in this case the invention of others. The young French school no doubt only had in mind the torpedo boat as such, but, if the effect of the torpedo is independent of the tube which launches it, it will be agreed that the German submarine war had its germ in the observations quoted above. But approaching the question from a higher standpoint than that of mere inquiry as to who conceived this new

form of warfare, it must be recognized that the Germans were absolutely justified in resorting to it."

He says, indeed, that to neglect to do so would have been to commit a great blunder. Further:

"It is thus that resolute belligerents have acted throughout the course of history when people have been engaged in desperate conflict."

Further:

"To sum up, one can see nothing in the attitude of the Germans which, militarily speaking, is not adequately correct. The failure to give notice before torpedoing has raised a storm of protest, but it is not inadmissible, as at first sight appears. * * *"

There is much more of the same kind, but he concludes his article with these words:

"Thanks to the submarine, after many centuries of effort, thanks to the ingenuity of man, the instrument, the system, the martingale is at hand which will overthrow for good and all the naval power of the British Empire."

I have quoted this because, as I say, it is the utterance of a responsible member of the French naval staff who, at the time of writing, was in a high position and was the actual head of a bureau. These things are known to our naval staff, of course; indeed, they were published to the world under the authority of the French naval staff.

Now, this officer, who is appointed principal lecturer to the senior officers' course, will, no doubt, unless a change of policy takes place, be pouring what we regard as this infamy and this poison into the ears of the serving officers of the French Navy.

That is the justification for what I can only describe as the apprehensions and even the bitterness that we must feel in the thought that under any conceivable circumstances our present allies, our late comrades in arms in the greatest war the world has ever known, should contemplate the possibility of warfare of that kind.

It seems to me, now that we have expressed those apprehensions, the way is open for the French delegation and the French Government, as I fervently trust they will, to disavow and repudiate these things. I suggest respectfully that there is only one way in which that can be effectively done, and that is by the adoption of these resolutions which have been moved by Mr. Root, and particularly No. 2, with the amendment suggested by Mr. Balfour attached to it. * * *

ADMIRAL DE BON'S REPLY

Speaking for France, Admiral de Bon made this reply:

I have been deeply gratified by Lord Lee's statement. Since the beginning of this discussion we could not comprehend the misunderstanding which seemed to have

arisen between us, because—I state it openly and declare it most emphatically—there is nothing more foreign to our minds than the idea of attacking a friend. It is not even conceivable to us. Our only regret is that this misunderstanding has lasted so long and that we did not know that it was based on an article like that written by Captain Castex.

He is, it is true, an officer who belonged to the General Staff, but who was attached to a literary section. He was above all a man of letters. His article was published in the *Revue Maritime*, which is, to a certain extent, an organ recognized by the French Navy, but on its title page it bears a statement to the effect that the French Admiralty and General Staff decline to assume any responsibility whatever as regards utterances contained in the articles, which responsibility rests wholly with the authors of the articles. Each writer is free to express his own opinions, but he does so at his own risk.

The charge should be laid at the door of the man who wrote the article, and to him only. The article in no way represents, thank Heaven, the views of the French.

Captain Castex brings up an old argument regarding the torpedo boat. I was telling you only the other day in regard to submarines that we were going through once more the same stages of discussion which marked the appearance of the torpedo boat. There has been no instance in history when the appearance of a new weapon has not unleashed a sort of fanaticism in the ranks of partisans. There are always extremists who wish to impose their ideas and make fantastic statements to that end. But in the end common sense always steps in and public opinion keeps the ultimate judgment within reasonable limits.

At the time when frantic enthusiasts believed that torpedo boats were the noblest of inventions, abominable things appeared in print which had no effect on actual practice or on the doctrines adopted by the various Governments with regard to the use of torpedo boats, I can find no better way of condemning the article in question.

The author of that article has written what we consider to be a monstrosity. The French delegation has repeatedly stated that it unreservedly condemned the practices of the German submarines during the late war and that it desired that a declaration strongly condemning them should issue from the conference and be spread over the entire world.

I beg Lord Lee to believe that the French Navy has never harbored any idea of using methods of war practiced by the German submarines, for which we feel only horror, not only against the British Empire, but against any other country whatever.

I maintain that the honor of the French General Staff and of the French Navy, which have a record of centuries of struggle without a single stain on their escutcheon—

cannot be sullied by the article in question. This article is the work of an officer who is a man of letters rather than a sailor; and I formally repudiate it in the name of the French Navy.

M. Sarraut, as head of the French delegation, solemnly confirmed Admiral de Bon's formal repudiation, adding:

Truly, we have had enough of these misunderstandings; they must be done away with. I, for my part, hope for it with all my strength. Mutual confidence free of all reserves must again prevail among us. In this respect the French Government has given and is ready to give every guarantee; its word, indeed, should suffice.

COMPLETING THE RESOLUTIONS

With the ending of this episode, Secretary Hughes, having noted Japan's general approval of Resolution II. of the Root proposals and also her inability to give formal approval until the receipt of instructions from Tokio, brought Resolution III. before the Joint Committee. Mr. Pearce, representing Australia on the British Empire delegation, rose to say that there was one point connected with this resolution which he believed should be amended forthwith. He referred to the fact that the declaration of outlawry on all transgressors of the international code laid down by Mr. Root included only persons in the service of any of the powers "adopting these rules." This would mean, he said, that the submarine officers of nations not adhering to these resolutions would not be liable. He believed that an amendment should be made to extend the rules so that they might become part of international law in order to make them universally effective. Mr. Root acknowledged the "importance and interest" of the point that Senator Pearce had raised. The session closed with a debate on the limitation of tonnage for auxiliary craft, an account of which will be found further along under the appropriate heading.

The sessions of the joint committees were temporarily discontinued

at this date (Dec. 30) in order to give the heads of the various delegations an opportunity to supervise the work in preparation for the coming agreement on all matters relating to naval armament. The committees did not meet again until Jan. 5. At this session all the five powers represented in the Naval Committee adopted all but the last of the Root resolutions. The form in which the resolutions were adopted differed from the original version in the following respects: Resolution I. was divided into two parts, and renumbered. The new Resolution I. laid down the international rules governing submarine attacks on merchant vessels, and declared that the submarine was not exempt from these rules. The new Resolution II. embodied the invitation to all other powers to subscribe to this statement. Resolution II. of the original proposals, which declared against the destruction of merchant vessels by submarines, then became the new Resolution III.

Because of the divergence of views, the committee did not adopt any definition of a merchant ship, viz., the conditions under which an armed merchantman would become an auxiliary cruiser. Each nation thus remained free to decide for itself what class of ships shall or shall not be immune from attack as commerce ships in time of war.

The third original resolution, now renumbered as IV., made the commanders, not only of submarines, but of all other ships, who transgressed the international laws, subject to punishment on the charge of piracy; this was not adopted until the following session, held on Jan. 6. With the passing of this last resolution, the long debate on the submarine issue reached its logical close, and the five greatest naval powers of the world stood committed to the prohibition of the use of submarines as destroyers of commerce, accepting this prohibition as binding on themselves, and inviting all other nations to adhere thereto.

LIMITING AUXILIARY SHIPS

The question of auxiliary ships was first taken up by Secretary Hughes at the session of Dec. 28, after it had become apparent that no progress could be made toward auxiliary ships and submarine limitation, owing to France's refusal of the American proposals. In answer to Mr. Balfour's declaration that if the French Government insisted on carrying out a large submarine program Great Britain would consider herself free to construct anti-submarine auxiliary craft to the extent she deemed necessary, Mr. Hughes said that he did not understand that Mr. Balfour intended to include capital ships in this freedom of action, and also that it was not the intention to build capital ships under the guise of auxiliary craft. If it was not possible to agree on the total tonnage limitation of auxiliary craft, he continued, some arrangement might be made to define the tonnage limit of individual ships. As a basis for such a definition, he offered the following resolution:

No ship of war other than the capital ships or aircraft carriers hereafter built shall exceed a total tonnage displacement of 10,000 tons, and no guns shall be carried by any such ship with a calibre in excess of eight inches.

The second part of this motion was adopted by the joint committees, but the proposal limiting an auxiliary ship's tonnage was referred to the respective Governments. Such a limitation, Lord Lee said, was a necessary corollary to the agreement to limit capital ships, as it would prevent the building of so-called light cruisers, which would be battleships in disguise. He understood that the experts were in agreement as to the reasonableness of the 10,000-ton limit as proposed by Secretary Hughes, and also as to the 8-inch gun for all such ships. Britain, he said, had no gun in excess of 7½ inches on her auxiliary vessels; France, he understood, had a similar calibre, viz., 7.6 inches. Great Britain, however, he said, would make no objection to the

8-inch maximum proposed in Secretary Hughes's resolution. Believing, however, that the limitation of armament should apply also to the aircraft carrier, which might otherwise be transformed into what would be virtually a capital ship, he proposed the following amendment:

No ship of war other than a capital ship or aircraft carrier hereafter built shall exceed a total tonnage displacement of 10,000 tons, and no gun shall be carried by any such ship, other than a capital ship, with a calibre in excess of eight inches.

The American delegation found no objection to the amendment, and it was in this form that Mr. Hughes brought the resolution up again at the afternoon session—the seventh joint meeting of the two committees. Vice Admiral Acton expressed the consent of the Italian delegation to the 8-inch calibre limitation, but stated that his home Government must be consulted on the question of tonnage replacement. Secretary Hughes, in view of the fact that France and Japan had assumed a similar position, suggested that the resolution be laid over for later discussion.

The subject arose again at the tenth joint session, Dec. 30. The Italian and Japanese delegations accepted both parts of the resolution, but final adoption was delayed by the failure of the French delegation to hear from its Government.

LIMIT ON AIRCRAFT CARRIERS

The question of limitation of aircraft carriers came up for discussion on Dec. 28, after Mr. Root had presented his submarine resolution. It was settled after thorough discussion at the session of Dec. 30. The conference had found it impossible to limit the total tonnage of auxiliary craft, owing to the attitude of France on submarines. In the motion offered by Secretary Hughes (see Auxiliary Ships), capital warships and aircraft carriers had been specially excepted from the 10,000-ton limitation. It had now been generally conceded that

aircraft carriers were in a different category from auxiliary cruisers, and Secretary Hughes attacked the problem of total tonnage limitation for these carriers from the very start. Let the official summary here continue the narrative.

In the American proposals at the opening session, he said, it had been agreed that the total tonnage of aircraft carriers should be fixed as follows:

United States—80,000 tons.

Great Britain—80,000 tons.

Japan—48,000 tons.

If the same ratio provided for capital ships should be applied to aircraft carriers for France and Italy the result would be as follows:

France—28,000 tons.

Italy—28,000 tons.

The American proposition had added a proviso that no country exceeding the quota allowed should be required to scrap such excess tonnage until replacement began, at which time the total tonnage of airplane carriers for each nation should be reduced to the prescribed allowance. Certain other rules had been proposed.

Mr. Hughes added that in view of the fact that aircraft carriers might approach in tonnage to capital ships, it would be wise also to set a limit in this respect. It was now proposed not to lay down any ships of this character whose displacement should exceed 27,000 tons. This was the proposition which was now presented for discussion. He said that he thought he should add that what had appeared in the resolution regarding aircraft carriers should be deemed to be the same as that included in the resolutions respecting all ships of war except capital ships, in that their guns should not have a calibre exceeding eight inches. If added to the resolution regarding aircraft carriers, the latter would read:

"No aircraft carrier shall be laid down during the term of this agreement whose tonnage displacement is in excess of 27,000 tons and no gun shall be carried by any such ship other than a capital ship with a calibre in excess of eight inches."

When these proposals were brought up again for full discussion at the joint session on Dec. 30, Admiral Acton of the Italian delegation pointed out that under the ratio allowed for Italy (28,000 tons) that country would be able to build only one airplane carrier of the 27,000-ton maximum laid down. If this one carrier should be laid up in drydock for repairs or should be sunk, Italy would

be left destitute of this weapon. He therefore presented Italy's request that the allowance be 54,000 instead of 28,000 tons.

The request was approved by Lord Lee of the British delegation, and he seized the opportunity to point out that his own Government stood in similar need of an increase in tonnage in respect to this type of vessel. The tonnage proposed, he said, was felt by his delegation to be inadequate, especially if the British Navy was to have carriers proportional in number to the two ships which Italy had demanded. The airplane carrier was essentially a fleet weapon, and should be adequate and proportional to the size of the fleet it served. In view of the fact that submarines were to be continued, he did not feel that the airplane carriers, which were an equally important weapon of anti-submarine defense, should be reduced. His delegation felt that the ratio of 5-5-3 for capital ships should be applied also here. At the present time Great Britain possessed only five airplane carriers, which included four vessels which were really experimental, three of which were small and inefficient. In view of this, whatever the division might be as to the total tonnage, Great Britain would have to demand that she be allowed to scrap these experimental ships and replace them with new ships designed to meet the requirements of the fleet.

Admiral de Bon for France similarly put forth demands for a higher ratio. The French delegation, he said, considered that France required two airplane carriers for European waters, and a third for use in her colonial possessions. Assuming an average size of 25,000 tons, the French demand would be for an aggregate of 75,000 tons. To meet the general wishes, however, he was willing to agree that 60,000 might be sufficient to meet his country's needs.

Baron Kato for Japan pointed out that under the proposed ratio his country would have the right to construct only one and a half airplane

carriers—an aggregate of 48,000 tons. The insular character of Japan, he pointed out, the extensive line of its coasts and the location of its harbors, as well as the susceptibility of Japanese cities, built of frame houses, to easy destruction by fire if attacked by air bombs, made it necessary for his country to have at least three airplane carriers of 27,000 tons each, or a total tonnage of 80,000. His delegation would make no objection, he added, if the United States and Great Britain received a proportionate increase.

Secretary Hughes then stated the new proposals. He saw no reason, he said, why the increased demands set forth as necessary should not be accepted by the United States, it being understood, however, that the latter country would receive an increase proportionate to that of Great Britain. He then called for a vote on the ratios asked by each power, viz.:

	Number of Carriers.	Total Tonnage.
Great Britain	5	135,000
United States	5	135,000
Japan	3	81,000
France	3	60,000
Italy	2	54,000

The vote was unanimously in the affirmative. Secretary Hughes then pointed out that this included, without separate action, agreement on the 27,000-ton limitation for individual ships and the eight-inch maximum calibre for guns. He also stated, in view of the general feeling that the development, not only of airplanes, but of airplane carriers, was in an experimental stage, that the prohibition stated in Item 24 of the original American proposals, viz., "no new airplane carrier tonnage except replacement tonnage shall be laid down during the period of agreement," would not be applicable to the existing situation. Thus the disadvantageous position of those nations who already possessed such experimental carriers, as compared with those who had not built such ships, and could take advantage of the latest information and inventions, would be equalized, he

said. Each nation would be left free to proceed with replacement to the maximum laid down; but not beyond. This was a liberty of replacement, not of addition. After another vote, the Chairman announced that the proposals as stated had been unanimously adopted.

AIRCRAFT LIMITATION REJECTED

Though the conference had thus decided on Dec. 30 to limit the tonnage and armament of aircraft carriers, it found itself in a different frame of mind regarding the limitation of aircraft itself. The deciding factor in this regard was a long and technical report presented by the Aircraft Limitation Subcommittee to the Naval Committee of the conference at its session of Jan. 7. This report declared that any attempt to restrict airplane development through limitation in numbers, size or military characteristics would be unwise. It was presented by Chairman Hughes immediately after the adoption of the Root resolution declaring against the use of poison gas, and discussion was opened on it as the third new agency of warfare which the conference had to consider from the point of view of limitation, the first two—namely, submarine and chemical warfare—having already been disposed of. [See page 738.]

The report dealt exhaustively with the whole subject under the following categories: (1) commercial aircraft; (2) civil aircraft—meaning aircraft controlled by a State, but not for military purposes; (3) military aircraft. Heavier-than-air and lighter-than-air craft were considered separately, since the conditions governing the two are not in all cases the same. The report was signed by the full Committee on Aircraft, which was composed of the following members:

United States—William A. Moffett, Rear Admiral U. S. N. (Director of the Naval Air Service), Chairman; Mason M. Patrick, Major General, U. S. A.

British Empire—J. F. A. Higgins, Air Vice Marshal, R. A. F.

France—Albert Roper, Capitaine, Pilote aviateur, French Army.

Italy—Riccardo Moizo, Colonel, R. I. A.

Japan—Osami Nagano, Captain, I. J. N.

The findings of the subcommittee may be summarized as follows:

It is the opinion of this committee that the limitation of military air power (as regards heavier-than-air craft) is not practicable at the present time.

Their reasons for this decision are as follows:

1. The difficulty of finding a basis for the proportion of aircraft to be allotted to the various nations.

2. The difficulty of devising technical methods to impose such limitation.

3. The difficulty of enforcing such methods.

4. The interdependence between air power and a commercial aircraft industry, which it is not practicable to limit.

As to lighter-than-air craft, the report said many of these remarks also applied, but that limitation of dirigibles was possible and practicable because, their war power being dependent upon size, infractions of a rule of size as to commercial dirigibles could be learned quickly, and also any limitation of number to be maintained was enforceable. But again the committee held restrictions would be imposed on commercial development of the industry which it deemed unwise to enact.

The committee also took up rules of aerial warfare and urged that this should be made the subject of an international agreement. It pointed out, however, that though the American and Japanese delegations to the present conference were prepared and authorized to take up such discussion, the British, French and Italian groups were not, and that in some cases a national policy on the subject in various countries had not been matured as yet.

For that reason the committee recommended postponement of consideration of the rules of air warfare to a later conference to be called for the purpose.

In a closing paragraph as to use of aircraft, the report said:

"The committee is of the opinion that the use of aircraft in war should be governed by the rules of warfare as adapted to aircraft by a further conference which should be held at a later date."

As an annex to the report, the Italian group stated its belief that one way in which it would be possible to limit the air power of a nation "would be by placing a limit upon the number of pilots in the permanent military establishment, and consequently agrees with the general reasoning of the report in so far as it is not contrary to this opinion."

DEBATE ON THE REPORT.

Formal debate on the report was opened on Jan. 9. All the delegations in turn expressed the view that the experts were right in their belief that aircraft limitation was impossible at present. Chairman Hughes expressed disappointment that the conference was unable to suggest practical limitations on the building of military aircraft, probably the most formidable weapon of the future. The experts had well presented the difficulties. They were dealing with facilities needed in peaceful development. No ban could be put on progress. The question, Secretary Hughes said, resolved itself, not into a limitation of armament, but into a limitation of civil progress, and therefore there seemed to be nothing to do but to accept the experts' report. The report was then formally accepted. Secretary Hughes asked discussion on lighter-than-air craft, which the experts had said might be limited. As none of the delegations wished to urge action along this line, Mr. Hughes proposed the following resolution, covering aircraft in general:

The committee is of the opinion that it is not at present* practicable to impose any effective limitations upon the numbers or characteristics of aircraft, either commercial or military.

INQUIRY COMMISSION APPROVED

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Chairman then brought up the recommendation of the experts that rules for the use of airplanes in war might be considered at another conference. Signor Schanzer approved this suggestion, but thought that the present conference could pass a resolution against the bombardment of cities by aircraft, from which practice Italy had greatly suffered during the war. Admiral de Bon then drew attention to the fact that this was provided for by Article 25 of the

*The words "at present" were inserted at the suggestion of Mr. Balfour.

Hague Convention of 1907. Mr. Root, however, pointed out that this article referred only to unfortified cities. Almost all towns in Europe, he said, were fortified to some degree against land attack, but completely defenseless against attack from the air. In view of this, he declared, some definition of what constituted a fortified town should be made.

Chairman Hughes then said it was apparent that a very technical question had been raised, and that long and thorough study would be needed by a commission of jurists on this as on other rules of warfare which seemed to be demanded by the development of new instruments of warfare; he suggested that this commission take the place of a new conference recommended by the experts. Any new conference, he intimated, would be as hampered by lack of the technical knowledge required, and which only highly trained jurists possessed, as the present conference. Mr. Borden of the British Empire delegation approved this suggestion in general, but doubted if the five powers of the conference could establish such a commission without inviting the participation of other nations. To this the Chairman replied that his desire was only that those five powers should have the right of initiation, and suggested that the formulation of an appropriate resolution be referred to the Drafting Committee.

Mr. Balfour approved this, but offered two suggestions. The first was that the commission of inquiry proposed should not be limited to jurists, but should also include technical experts, people who had seen the new agencies of warfare at work, who knew what those agencies had involved in the past and what they would involve in the future, and who, in his view, should have more to say on the framing of such new rules than the most expert jurists. The second suggestion was that the inquiry itself be divided into two parts, (1) revision of the rules of warfare in general, and (2) what had been de-

scribed by the agenda brought forward by the Chairman at the beginning of the conference as "rules for the control of new agencies of warfare," and that the conference should limit the work of the future examining body to the latter strictly limited and specific subject. He pointed out the vastness and complexity of international law as applied to warfare, and declared his belief that even the limited field proposed would be sufficient to occupy the attention of the most powerful committee which the conference would be able to provide.

Mr. Hughes found no objections to these suggestions, and they were referred, together with the shaping of the contemplated resolution, to the Drafting Committee.

POISON GAS PROHIBITED.

Another achievement of the arms conference, considered as almost equal in importance to the resolutions banning the submarine, was the adoption by the Naval Committee on Jan. 7 of a resolution offered by Secretary Hughes in favor of the abolition of the use of poison gas in international warfare. The presentation of this resolution on Jan. 6, immediately after the committee had adopted the last of the Root submarine resolutions, came as a surprise to the other delegations.

Secretary Hughes based his discussion of "chemical warfare" on the reading of three reports: (1) The report of the conference Experts' Committee on poison gas, which declared it unwise to try to prohibit the use of such gas; (2) the report adopted by the Advisory Committee of the American delegation, which favored prohibiting it; and (3) a report by the General Board of the United States Navy, which similarly declared that chemical warfare should be abolished.

EXPERT COMMITTEE'S REPORT

The Experts' Committee, composed as follows: Professor Edgar F. Smith, for the United States, Chairman; Brig. Gen. Fries, United States;

Colonel Bartholomew, Great Britain; Professor Moureau and Professor Mayer, France; Lieut. Col. Pentimalli, Italy, and Major Gen. Hara-guchi, Japan, had reported as follows:

The committee agreed more or less unanimously on the following points:

1. (a) Chemical warfare gases have such power against unprepared armies that no nation dare risk entering into an agreement which an unscrupulous enemy might break if he found his opponents unprepared to use gases, both offensively and defensively.

(b) Since many high explosives produce warfare gases or gases which are the same in their effects on men, any attempt to forbid the use of warfare gases would cause misunderstandings at once. That is, one or both sides would in the first battle find men dead or injured from gas. The doubt would at once arise whether gas was actually being used, as such, or whether the casualties were due to high explosives. This could be made the excuse to launch a heavy attack with warfare bases in every form.

(c) Research which may discover additional warfare gases cannot be prohibited, restricted or supervised.

(d) Due to the increasingly large peacetime use of several warfare gases, it is impossible to restrict the manufacture of any particular gas or gases. Some of the delegates thought that proper laws might limit the quantities of certain gases to be manufactured. The majority of opinion was against the practicability of even such prohibition.

(e) It is possible to confine the action of chemical warfare gases the same as high explosives and other means of carrying on war. The language used in this connection was that "it is possible, but with greater difficulty." On this question, as in the cases of (f) and (g) following, it was evident that among the representatives of the three nations thoroughly acquainted with chemical warfare gases, namely, the United States, Great Britain and France, there was less doubt as to the ability to confine their gases than among the Japanese and Italians, who know less about them.

(f) The kinds of gases and their effects on human beings cannot be taken as a basis for limitation. In other words, the committee felt that the only limitation practicable is to wholly prohibit the use of gases against cities and other large bodies of non-combatants, in the same manner as high explosives may be limited, but that there could be no limitation on their use against the armed forces of the enemy, ashore or afloat.

(g) The committee was divided on the question as to whether or not warfare gases form a method of warfare similar to other methods, such as shrapnel, machine guns,

rifle, bayonet, high explosives, airplanes, bombs, hand grenades and similar older methods. In this, as in (e) and (f), the United States, Great Britain and French members (five in number), who know gas, were emphatic that chemical warfare gases form a method of waging war similar to the older forms.

REPORT OF ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Secretary Hughes then said that he desired to read, on behalf of the American delegation, the report adopted by the American Advisory Committee on the recommendation of its subcommittee which had studied new agencies of warfare. The report follows:

The Committee (of the Advisory Committee) on New Agencies of Warfare, having had a number of meetings, one conjointly with the Committee (of the Advisory Committee) on Land Armaments, has the honor to report that it has given careful consideration to the subject referred to it. Chemical warfare, which is the scientific term to cover use of gases in all their forms, reached very important and significant phases during the World War. The surprise of the first gas attack on the British forces at Ypres shocked the civilized world, but its military effectiveness caused the allied Governments at once to take measures not only of protection against gas attacks, but also of offensive action. In consequence, at the close of the war the use of poison gases, not only temporarily injurious but of a toxic character, became universal.

The committee has found on consultation with experts and reference to scientific study of the subject that there are arguments in favor of the use of gas which ought to be considered. The proportion of deaths from their use when not of a toxic character is much less than from the use of other weapons of warfare. On the other hand, the committee feels that there can be no actual restraint of the use by combatants of this new agency of warfare if it is permitted in any guise.

The frightful consequences of the use of toxic gases if dropped from airplanes on cities stagger the imagination. No military necessity can excuse or extenuate such events as were of frequent occurrence during the recent war, when bombs were dropped on undefended and thickly populated cities, towns and villages for no other purpose apparently than to demoralize the population. If lethal gases were used in such bombs it might well be that much permanent and serious damage would be done, not only of a material character, but in the depopulation of large sections of the country.

The committee is of opinion that the conscience of the American people has been

profoundly shocked by the savage use of scientific discoveries for destruction rather than for construction.

The meeting of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament in the city of Washington affords a peculiarly advantageous opportunity for comparison of views on all questions bearing on the subject. Whatever may be the arguments of technical experts, the committee feels that the American representatives would not be doing their duty in expressing the conscience of the American people were they to fail in insisting upon the total abolition of chemical warfare, whether in the army or the navy, whether against combatant or noncombatant. Should the United States assume this position, it would be an evidence not of weakness but of magnanimity. Probably no nation is better equipped by reason of scientific knowledge among its technicians and by means of its material resources to use chemical warfare effectively.

This committee, therefore, submits the following resolution for adoption by the Advisory Board and to be communicated to the American delegates on the Conference on the Limitation of Armament:

"Resolved, that chemical warfare, including the use of gases, whether toxic or non-toxic, should be prohibited by international agreement, and should be classed with such unfair methods of warfare as poisoning wells, introducing germs of disease and other methods that are abhorrent in modern warfare."

Secretary Hughes then called attention to the fact, stated at the beginning of this report, that the Conference Subcommittee had held a joint meeting with the Advisory Committee's Subcommittee on Land Armaments. This last-named subcommittee had submitted a report which the Advisory Committee had unanimously adopted. This report, signed by General John J. Pershing, as Chairman, had made the following recommendation with regard to chemical warfare:

Chemical warfare should be abolished among nations, as abhorrent to civilization. It is a cruel, unfair, and improper use of science. It is fraught with the gravest danger to noncombatants, and demoralizes the better instincts of humanity.

UNITED STATES NAVY REPORT.

In view of the differences of opinion among experts, and especially of the finding of the Expert Committee of the conference in favor of chemical

warfare, said Secretary Hughes, he wished to read a report by the General Board of the United States Navy upon this question. This report was as follows:

Question: Should gas warfare be prohibited?

Answer: Yes.

Comment: 1. The United States would undoubtedly give up a material advantage if gas warfare were abolished. The resources and scientific development of this country place it in the front ranks of nations in the ability to wage efficient gas warfare and insure an adequate supply of special gases. Nevertheless, its abolition would be popular in this country even though its effectiveness as a weapon in war has been clearly proved when employed under special conditions.

2. The tendency of rules of modern warfare is toward restraint in the employment of weapons that produce unnecessary suffering. The limitations in the employment of the different weapons have that end in view. The dum-dum bullet and the explosive bullet are well-known examples. Following this general principle, gases which produce unnecessary suffering should be prohibited.

3. Gas warfare has a peculiar futility different from any method heretofore employed, in that though directed toward a particular target its destructive effect is not limited to that target, but passes beyond control of the belligerent agent and may involve a sacrifice of innocent lives over a wide area. On account of this peculiarity the use of gas which causes death is objectionable because not only the combatant is killed, a perfectly legitimate target, but many noncombatants may also be victims. And these innocent persons may deliberately be made objects of gas attacks by unscrupulous belligerents. Lethal gases should therefore be prohibited.

4. The two principles in warfare, (1) that unnecessary suffering in the destruction of combatants should be avoided, (2) that innocent noncombatants should not be destroyed, have been accepted by the civilized world for more than 100 years. The use of gases in warfare in so far as they violate these two principles is almost universally condemned today, despite its practice for a certain period during the World War.

5. Certain gases, for example tear gas, could be used without violating the two principles above cited. Other gases will no doubt be invented which could be so employed, but there will be great difficulty in a clear and definite demarcation between the lethal gases and those which produce unnecessary suffering as distinguished from those gases which simply disable temporarily. Among the gases existing today there is undoubtedly a difference of opinion as to which class certain gases belong.

Moreover, the diffusion of all these gases is practically beyond control, and many innocent noncombatants would share in the suffering of war, even if the result did not produce death or a permanent disability.

6. The General Board foresees great difficulty in clearly limiting gases so as to avoid unnecessary suffering in gas warfare and in enforcing rules which will avert suffering or the possible destruction of innocent lives of noncombatants, including women and children. Gas warfare threatens to become so efficient as to endanger the very existence of civilization.

7. The General Board believes it to be sound policy to prohibit gas warfare in every form and against every objective, and so recommends.

W. L. RODGERS.

In view of all this expert evidence, Secretary Hughes said that he felt that the American delegation should present the recommendation that the use of asphyxiating or poison gas be absolutely prohibited. He then asked Mr. Root to present the resolution.

MR. ROOT'S EXPLANATION

"There was," said Mr. Root, in moving the resolution, "an expression on this subject which presented the most extraordinary consensus of opinion that one could well find on any international subject." He had based his draft on the Treaty of Versailles, subscribed to by four of the five chief powers represented at the conference, and taken over by the United States and Germany in their peace treaty of Aug. 25, 1921; repeated in the Treaty of St. Germain between the same four powers and Austria; in the Treaty of Neuilly between the same powers and Bulgaria; in the Treaty of the Trianon with Hungary, and in the Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey. He then read from Article 171 of the Treaty of Versailles:

The use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, all analogous liquids, materials or devices being prohibited, their manufacture and importation are strictly forbidden in Germany. The same applies to materials specially intended for the manufacture, storage and use of the said products or devices.

That declaration, said Mr. Root, he understood to be a statement of the previous rules which had been adopt-

ed covering the history of The Hague conference. He had therefore followed the language of the Versailles Treaty, which all the subsequent treaties had adopted. He then read the American resolution, which was phrased thus:

The use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids or materials or devices having been justly condemned by the general opinion of the civilized world and a prohibition of such use having been declared in treaties to which a majority of the civilized powers are parties;

Now to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as a part of international law, binding alike the conscience and practice of nations, the signatory powers declare their assent to such prohibition, agree to be bound thereby between themselves and invite all other civilized nations to adhere thereto.

Inasmuch as some thirty or forty powers had assented to this prohibition in the various treaties named, said Mr. Root, there was not much further to go in securing that general consent which changes a rule from contract to law. The session closed with an expression of deep satisfaction by Signor Schanzer of the Italian delegation, who pointed out that the Italian representative in the subcommittee had been the first to propose the abolition of poison gas in warfare. The American proposal, he declared, would constitute one of the conference's greatest claims to honor, and a real step in the path of progress and civilization.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by all the delegates at the session of Jan. 7, after some further debate which brought into strong relief the general feeling that the moral effect of the resolution would be felt throughout the civilized world. Mr. Balfour was especially convinced of this, though he maintained the right of every nation, in case of future use of this inhuman agency in war, to prepare its defense, just as in the case of the submarine. In the latter case, the international law had been extended. In the case of poison gas the conference powers could do no more than reaffirm the existing law,

in view of the difficulty of controlling the production of poison gases. Mr. Balfour believed, however, that such a reaffirmation would "bring home to the consciences of mankind that poison gas was not a form of warfare which civilized nations could tolerate." The resolution was then formally accepted by all five powers.

CHINESE TARIFF AGREEMENT

Important progress was made on Jan. 5 by the committee on the Far East. This was the first public session held by that committee since Dec. 14, when it had adjourned subject to call by the Chairman, in order to allow scope for the discussions on limitation of naval armament. At the session of Jan. 5 decisions were reached on two points previously debated—the raising of the Chinese customs tariff, and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Chinese territory.

The question of China's proportion of customs revenue, reduced by treaties with various powers to a nominal 5 per cent. ad valorem, but practically to only 3½ per cent., had first been raised by Dr. Wellington Koo, head of the Chinese delegation, at the session of Nov. 23. [See January CURRENT HISTORY.] At that meeting Dr. Koo had made a plea for complete autonomy in respect to customs tariff, and had asked at all events that China's quota be raised from 5 per cent. to 12½ per cent. in view of the nation's financial necessities. He made it clear, however, that China had no wish to interfere with the existing administration of maritime customs, or with the application of customs revenue to the liquidation of foreign loans guaranteed by this revenue. The Chinese demands had been debated at length by the subcommittee on this subject, and though the final agreement reached did not grant China her full desires (viz., the immediate increase to 12½ per cent., scientific revision of the tariff within two years, and eventual autonomy), it took a considerable step forward by

raising China's customs revenue by \$46,000,000 annually, and providing for future additional revisions.

This decision was embodied in a report presented by Senator Underwood, as Chairman of the subcommittee, at the Jan. 5 session. The gist of the agreement was briefly as follows:

1. Increase to 5 per cent. effective, an addition of \$17,000,000 silver.
2. Surtax of 2½ per cent., representing \$27,000,000 silver.
3. Surtax not exceeding .5 per cent. on luxuries, \$2,167,000 silver.
4. Total additional revenue, \$46,167,000 silver.
5. Total estimated customs revenues (based on the revenue for 1920, \$64,000,000 silver, plus the \$46,167,000 additional revenue referred to above), \$110,167,000 silver. (A maximum estimate based on the conclusion of all revision measures was subsequently given by Chairman Underwood at \$156,000,000 silver.)

Senator Underwood prefaced the reading of the report with an explanation both of its object and of its purport. The subcommittee had been influenced by the following considerations: The last revision of the tariff took place in 1918. Though this revision had been for the purpose of bringing the rates up to a 5 per cent. effective basis, the basis adopted had been the average of the value of imports during the years 1912-1916. The rates fixed, which became effective in August, 1919, were to last for at least two years after the end of the war. Manifestly, said Senator Underwood, "valuations based on an average of values from 1912 to 1916 no longer represent the true value of importations, and, as a result, the revision of 1918, instead of producing revenue representing 5 per cent. effective, actually produced only about 2½ per cent. effective."

The agreement, he further explained, fell into two parts. The first part related to tariff readjustment measures which may become immediately applicable without taking treaty form and requiring ratification. This would be effected through a committee of revision, which would meet in Shanghai to re-

wise the present tariff on the 5 per cent. basis, its revision to become effective within two months after publication, without ratification. The second part related to subjects to be dealt with by a special conference, which will take measures looking to the speedy abolition of the likin (the transit tax between Chinese provinces and districts), the application of surtaxes, and the realization of the principle of uniformity in the customs rates on all frontiers, whether land or maritime. The surtaxes provided for in the treaty of 1902 between China and Great Britain and in the treaty of 1903 between China and the United States would be brought into effect by this special conference, which would likewise fix a specific surtax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem, calculated to bring in \$27,000,000 silver additional, and a special surtax on luxuries not exceeding 5 per cent., estimated to bring in \$2,167,000 silver. When all these measures had been completed, it was expected that the total revenue would amount to fully \$156,000,000 silver. Senator Underwood declared that the new agreement was "a signal achievement, not only in the interest of China and of each of the treaty powers, but in the interest of trade in general and of peace itself." He especially stressed the effect it would have in removing "the highly unjust and controversial preferences with which the foreign trade of China has heretofore been encumbered."

TEXT OF TARIFF REPORT

The official text of the report, which Senator Underwood then read, was as follows:

The subcommittee on Chinese Customs Duties, having had under consideration the proposals of the Chinese delegates for the restoration of tariff autonomy and the readjustment of maritime customs duties with a view to providing additional revenue to meet the needs of the Chinese Government, reports that it has reached the following agreement:

"The powers attending this conference agree:

"I. That immediate steps be taken through a special conference representing

China and the powers which accept this agreement to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of likin and the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in Article VIII. of the Anglo-Chinese commercial treaty of Sept. 5, 1902, and the corresponding articles of the United States and Japanese treaties with a view to levying the surtaxes as provided in those articles.

"II. That the present tariff on importations shall be forthwith revised and raised to a basis of 5 per cent. effective. That this revision shall be carried out forthwith by a revision committee at Shanghai on the general lines of the last revision. The revision shall proceed as rapidly as possible, with a view to its completion within four months from the conclusion of the present conference, and the revised tariff shall become effective two months after publication without awaiting ratification.

"III. That the interim provision to be applied until the articles referred to in Paragraph 1 come into operation be considered by the aforesaid special conference, which shall authorize the levying of a surtax on dutiable imports and subject to such conditions as they may determine. The surtax shall be at a uniform rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem, except in the case of certain articles of luxury which, in the opinion of the conference, can bear a greater increase without unduly impeding trade, and upon which the total surtax shall not exceed 5 per cent.

"IV. (1) That there shall be a further revision of the tariff to take effect at the expiration of four years following the completion of the immediate revision herein authorized, in order to insure that the rates shall correspond to the ad valorem rates fixed.

"(2) That following this revision there shall be periodical revisions of the tariff every seven years for the same purpose.

"(3) That in order to prevent delay such periodical revisions shall be effected in accordance with rules to be settled by the special conference mentioned in Paragraph 1.

"V. That in all matters relating to customs duties there shall be effective equality of treatment and of opportunity for all nations parties to this agreement.

"VI. That the principle of uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied on all the frontiers, land and maritime, of China be recognized, and that it be referred to the special conference mentioned in paragraph 1 to make arrangements to give practical effect to this principle, with power to authorize any adjustments which may appear equitable in cases in which the customs privilege to be abolished was granted in return for some local economic favor. In the meantime any increase in the rates of customs duties or surtax imposed in pursuance of the present agreement shall be levied at a uniform rate ad valorem on all frontiers, land and maritime.

"VII. That the charge for transit passes shall be at the rate of 2½ per cent. ad valorem, except when the arrangements contemplated in paragraph 1 are in force.

"VIII. That the treaty powers not here represented shall be invited to accept the present agreement.

"IX. That this agreement shall override all provisions of treaties between China and the powers which accept it which are inconsistent with its terms."

The delegate for China submitted the following communication, which it was unanimously agreed should form a part of the foregoing agreement as an appendix thereto:

"Declaration of intention not to disturb the present administration of the Chinese maritime customs.

"The Chinese delegation has the honor to inform the Committee on Far Eastern Questions of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament that the Chinese Government have no intention to effect any change which may disturb the present administration of the Chinese maritime customs.

REDUCING CHINA'S ARMY

In addition to this main report, Senator Underwood stated that a special resolution had been adopted on Jan. 2, 1922 (the Chinese delegate not voting), urging that China, in the interests of general disarmament, reduce the large military forces maintained at an enormous cost by the Tuchuns or Military Governors. This was urged also in the interests of China's own financial rehabilitation. The resolution read thus:

The members of the subcommittee in studying the question of increasing the customs tariff rates to meet the urgent needs of the Chinese Government have been deeply impressed with the severe drain on China's public revenue through the maintenance of excessive military forces in various parts of the country. Most of these forces are controlled by the military chiefs of the provinces, and their continued maintenance appears to be mainly responsible for China's present unsettled political conditions.

It is felt that large and prompt reduction of these forces will not only advance the cause of China's political unity and economic development, but hasten her financial rehabilitation. Therefore, without any intention to interfere in the internal problems of China, but animated by the sincere desire to see China develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government alike in her own interest and in the general interest of trade, and inspired by

the spirit of this conference whose aim is to reduce, through the limitation of armament, "the enormous disbursements" which "manifestly constitute the greater part of the encumbrance upon enterprise and national prosperity," the subcommittee venture to suggest for the consideration of the committee the advisability of laying before the conference for its adoption a resolution expressing the earnest hope of the conference and embodying recommendation to China that immediate and effective steps be taken by the Chinese Government to reduce the aforesaid military forces and expenditure.

Dr. Koo expressed regret that the committee had not seen fit to grant China the full customs autonomy which she desired, and which, he said, all other countries enjoy respecting the regulation of their customs. He made it clear that China would not relinquish this demand, but would bring the subject up again for consideration on all suitable opportunities. The report was then unanimously adopted, together with the Chinese declaration regarding maritime customs. Senator Underwood answered Dr. Koo's criticism.

I do not think [he said] that there was any doubt in the minds of the men on the subcommittees as to the question that if China at present had the unlimited control of levying taxes at the Custom Houses, in view of the unsettled conditions now existing in China, it would probably work, in the end, to China's detriment and to the injury of the world, and I think that had more to do with the subcommittee not making a full and direct response to Dr. Koo's request than anything else.

I am sure there was no desire on the part of the other powers to be selfish, or not to recognize the full sovereignty of China, and I only rose to say this, that if I am a judge of the situation, a judge of the temper of conditions in the balance of the world, I feel sure that when China herself establishes a Parliamentary Government of all the provinces of China and dispenses with the military control that now exists in many of the provinces of China, so that the outside powers may feel that they are dealing with a Government that has entire and absolute and free control of the situation, China can expect to realize the great ideals of sovereignty that she asks at this table.

[At the eighteenth meeting of this committee, on Jan. 16, final agreement was recorded to the raising of the Chinese customs revenue, already thus approved by representatives of

the nine nations. This was done through the adoption of a resolution presented by Mr. Elihu Root, voicing the assent of the nine powers concerned to the 5 per cent. quota of revenue to be assigned to China; to the abolition of the likin, or transit dues, and to the levying of surtaxes. The United States, as the convener of the conference, pledged itself to communicate the decision to nations not participating, and to invite their adherence, on the obtaining of which the new agreement would override the terms of any existing treaties.]

WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS

Dr. Koo accepted the special resolution regarding China's reduction of her military forces, and the resolution was recommitted by the Chairman to the subcommittee for formal drafting in a shape to be approved by the committee as a whole.

Secretary Hughes then asked Mr. Root to present the resolution on withdrawal of foreign troops. Mr. Root read the resolution, which embodied an offer by the eight powers—United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, Holland, Belgium and Japan—to conduct through their diplomatic representatives at Peking, jointly with China, a thorough investigation of this problem, with a view to its ultimate solution. Mr. Alfred Sze voiced the Chinese delegation's appreciation of this offer, and the resolution, after some discussion, was unanimously adopted, China not voting. Its text follows:

Whereas, The powers have from time to time stationed armed forces, including police and railway guards, in China to protect the lives and property of foreigners lawfully in China; and

Whereas, It appears that certain of these armed forces are maintained in China without the authority of any treaty or agreement; and

Whereas, The powers have declared their intention to withdraw their armed forces now on duty in China without the authority of any treaty or agreement whenever China shall assure the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in China; and

Whereas, China has declared her intention and capacity to assure the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in China;

Now, to the end that there may be clear understanding of the conditions upon which in each case the practical execution of those intentions must depend, it is

Resolved, That the diplomatic representatives in Peking of the powers now in conference at Washington, to wit: the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal, will be instructed by their respective Governments, whenever China shall so request, to associate themselves with three representatives of the Chinese Government to conduct collectively a full and impartial inquiry into the issues raised by the foregoing declarations of intention made by the powers and by China, and shall thereafter prepare a full and comprehensive report setting out without reservation their findings of fact and their opinion with regard to the matter hereby referred for inquiry, and shall furnish a copy of their report to each of the nine Governments concerned, which shall severally make public the report with such comment as each may deem appropriate. The representatives of any of the powers may make or join in minority reports stating their differences, if any, from the majority report.

That each of the powers above named shall be deemed free to accept or reject all or any of the findings of fact or opinions expressed in the report, but that in no case shall any of the said powers make its acceptance of all or any of the findings of fact or opinions either directly or indirectly dependent on the granting by China of any special concession, favor, benefit or immunity, whether political or economic.

SHANTUNG DEADLOCK

The Shantung controversy between China and Japan, which had been debated through seventeen sessions of the two delegations, up to Dec. 20 (see January CURRENT HISTORY), had reached a deadlock at that date. The Japanese delegates had declined further discussion until they could communicate with their home Government. The crux of the situation was that China wished to buy back the Shantung railroad outright, and to pay for it out of her own funding, whereas Japan insisted on China's accepting a loan from Japanese financial interests. China also did not wish to have

Japanese officials admitted to the railroad's administration, whereas the Japanese insisted that officials from Japan should control the line.

After a period of delay the Japanese received new instructions and the interrupted parleys were resumed. A bulletin of the twentieth session on Jan. 6 showed that the Japanese negotiators had again refused the Chinese proposals, and that the conversations had again been suspended sine die "pending further developments." The official bulletin said in part:

The Japanese delegates proposed a railway loan agreement plan for the settlement of this question on the basis of the terms of ordinary railway loan agreements entered into by China with various foreign capitalists during recent years, namely, on the following general lines:

1. The term of the loan shall be fixed at fifteen years, while China shall retain an option of redeeming the whole outstanding liabilities upon six months' notice after five years from the date of the agreement.

2. A Japanese traffic manager and chief accountant shall be engaged in the service of the Shantung Railway.

3. The details of the financial arrangement shall be worked out at Peking between the representatives of the two parties to the loan.

This plan was not found acceptable to the Chinese delegation. The Chinese delegates, on their part, proposed the following two alternative plans:

1. China shall make a cash payment for the railway and its appurtenant properties with a single deposit in a bank of a third power at a specified date either before the transfer of the properties or when such transfer is effected.

2. China shall make a deferred payment either in Treasury notes or notes of the Chinese Bankers' Union, secured upon the railway properties, extending over a period of twelve years, with an option on the part of China at any time after three years, upon giving six months' notice, to pay all the outstanding liabilities. The first instalment is to be paid on the day on which the transfer of the railway and properties is completed.

China shall engage that she, upon her own initiative, shall select and employ in the service of the Tsing-tao-Tsinan-fu Railway a district engineer of Japanese nationality.

Neither of these plans was found acceptable to the Japanese delegates in the present form.

Mr. Hanihara, the main Japanese negotiator, made it plain in an inter-

view after the meeting that the Japanese proposals were final. The delegation's instructions from Tokio, he said, were very explicit. He explained the Japanese position thus: Japan had no desire to sell the Shantung Railway at all; what she wished was joint operation on a 50-50 basis, and she even considered that this was a considerable concession, as the Japanese Government looked on the railroad, which it had taken over from Germany after the latter country's defeat in the Far East, as its own property. Japan at least must retain an interest in the railroad, and to do that she must effect the transfer through a Japanese railroad loan, similar to other railroad loans made by China previously with other foreign nations, and the terms must include the acceptance of a Japanese traffic manager and accountant. Japan was unwilling to accept the Chinese proposal of a cash payment.

The Shantung negotiations between the Chinese and Japanese representatives were renewed a few days later with the aid of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour, but were soon again deadlocked over the question of the terms under which Japan should return the Shantung railway; pending further instructions on this main issue from Tokio, the Japanese delegates took up collateral issues. Important discussions on the disposition of the mines situated on the railway marked the twenty-eighth session, held on Jan. 17. Both delegations at that time declared that an ultimate agreement seemed to be in sight.

Just as these pages were going to press a new phase of the conference discussions on China began with proposals made by Secretary Hughes (session of Jan. 16) to assure the principle of the open door. These proposals, including a plan to establish a permanent commission pledged to maintain that principle, was earnestly debated for three hours on Jan. 17. The full debate on this topic must be reserved for the March issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

GANDHI'S WEAPONLESS REVOLT IN INDIA

BY BERNARD SEXTON

Strange power of the saint who is shaping the destinies of three hundred million people—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's own explanation of his plan to overthrow British rule by "soul force"

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WE are living in an age of marvels and superlatives. World-shaking events come one after another. Institutions that have endured for centuries are overthrown in a day and forgotten in a year. The war was not yet over when the Russian revolution began, and on the banks of the Neva a group of daring men attempted to build a communist commonwealth out of the ruins of autocracy. Ancient Ireland awoke, and the speech of the Gael was heard once more in camp and council. England came to terms with the Sinn Fein. Then the world, agape at this wonder, was astonished at the news that India had been reborn, that the gentle Aryan of the East was in revolt. Responsible officials stated that the empire was shaken by the uprising of a people who fought without weapons, who conducted a successful revolution without bullet or knife, who made war, according to their own declaration, not upon the bodies but upon the souls of official Englishmen, attempting to conquer by love and gentleness. To India the name of Gandhi is like the morning star. He is the leader of this insurrection in spirit, a man whose title is not General, but Mahatma (Great Soul). Gandhi has invented for war a new explosive, which he names soul-force. This saint, who has never injured a human being or an animal, who knows nothing of war, who forbids violence, has struck a

staggering blow at British rule in India. Sir Michael O'Dwyer wrote some months ago in *The London Fortnightly*:

Since the mutiny the position of our Government was never so weak, its credit never so low * * * Our margin of safety in India was never very large, and in these days of world-wide anxiety and peril it has been reduced almost to the vanishing point.

The man through whose leadership these things have come to pass is evidently one of the great characters of history, one of those "pale thinkers" whom Emerson describes as being let loose on the planet now and then for its purification. A sketch of his life and his words will, therefore, illuminate the purpose of resurgent India.

GANDHI'S CAREER

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in Porbandar, India, Oct. 2, 1869. His ancestors had held high office under the native princes, generation after generation. A grandfather was Prime Minister. His boyhood and youth were uneventful, and it was not until he undertook the voyage to London in 1888, to study law, that he saw anything of the great world. The first plunge into Western civilization was a rude shock to the sensitive Hindu, but he faced life in London, made valuable acquaintances and spent much time studying Christianity and Western civilization during the years he was at the law school. He returned to India in 1893.

Almost immediately an opening was offered him by a law firm in South Africa. He accepted.

In South Africa he encountered at once the savage prejudice which the Colonials entertained against his people. He was insulted, reviled, beaten. He had to learn that birth and education availed nothing in that violent land where all Hindus were called "coolies." During his years in South Africa his life was more than once in danger from mob violence. Before he left he spent several terms in jail as a convict for conscience' sake. At the date of his arrival, however, the Indians were not subject to the severe legal disabilities which in later years resulted in their passive resistance movement.

When the Boer War broke out Gandhi revealed at once his capacity for infinite tolerance and forgiveness. He organized the Indian Ambulance Corps and worked under fire with his faithful followers, trying to demonstrate to the British the loyalty of the Indian community. In 1906 again, at the time of the Zulu rebellion, Gandhi, with his volunteers, rendered medical service.

In spite of this spirit, the attitude of the white men toward the Indians had grown more menacing. In a lecture at Madras in 1896 Mr. Gandhi said: "The Indian is the most hated being in South Africa. * * * The railway and train officials treat us as beasts. We cannot safely walk on the footpaths. * * * We are 'Asian dirt,' to be 'heartily cursed.' We are 'stinking coolies,' living on 'the smell of an oiled rag.' We are the 'black vermin.' * * * We 'breed like rabbits,' and a gentleman at a meeting lately held in Durban said he 'was sorry we could not be shot like them.'" Matters became steadily worse until, at last, in September, 1906, there was a large gathering of Indians, which, after thoroughly facing the issue, under the inspiration of deep feeling, swore a solemn oath committing themselves to passive resistance.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

In telling Mr. Doke, his biographer, how the idea of passive resistance originated, Mr. Gandhi said:

I remember how one verse of a Gujarati poem which, as a child, I learned in school, clung to me. In substance it was this:

If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing; Real beauty consists of doing good against evil.

As a child this verse had a powerful influence over me, and I tried to carry it into practice. Then came the "Sermon on the Mount."

"But," said the biographer, "surely the Bhagavad Gita came first?"

"No," he replied; "of course I knew the Bhagavad Gita in Sanskrit tolerably well, but I had not made its teaching in that particular a study. It was the New Testament which really awakened me to the rightness and value of passive resistance. When I read in the 'Sermon on the Mount' such passages as 'Resist not him that is evil, but whosoever smiteth thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also,' and 'Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in Heaven,' I was simply overjoyed and found my own opinion confirmed where I least expected it. The Bhagavad Gita deepened my impression, and Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God Is Within You' gave it permanent form.

"I do not like the term 'passive resistance'; it fails to convey all I mean. It describes a method, but gives no hint of the system of which it is only a part. Real beauty—and that is my aim—is in doing good against evil. Still I adopt that phrase because it is well known and easily understood, and because at present the great majority of my people can only grasp that idea. To me the ideas which underlie the Gujarati hymn and the 'Sermon on the Mount' should revolutionize the whole of life."

SOUL-FORCE

Of the blessings attending the use of soul-force, Gandhi says:

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used without drawing a drop of blood; it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. Competition between passive resisters does not exhaust them. The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard and one cannot be forcibly dispossessed of it.

Its equivalent in the vernacular, rendered into English, means truth-force. I think Tolstoy called it also soul-force or love-force. Carried to its utmost limit, this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance; certainly in its elementary form, of physical force or violence. * * * Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women and children. It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence. * * * It is impossible for those who consider themselves weak to apply this force. Only those who realize that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be passive resisters. * * *

The use of this force requires the adoption of poverty, in the sense that we must be indifferent whether we have the wherewithal to feed and clothe ourselves. * * * The exercise of the purest soul-force in its perfect form brings about instantaneous relief. For this exercise prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity, so that a perfect passive resister has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man. We cannot all suddenly become such men, but if my proposition is correct—as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of passive resistance in us, the better men we will become. Its use therefore is, I think, indisputable, and it is a force which, if it became universal, would revolutionize social ideals and do away with despotisms and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and which fairly promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East. * * *

Thus viewed passive resistance is the noblest and the best education. It should come not after the ordinary education in letters, but should precede it. It will not be denied that a child, before it begins to write its alphabet and to gain worldly knowledge, should know what the soul is, what truth is, what love is, what powers are latent in the soul. It should be an essential of real education that a child should

learn that in the struggle of life it can easily conquer hate by love, untruth by truth, violence by self-suffering.

JAIL EXPERIENCES

Concerning his jail experiences in South Africa, when he was in prison as leader of the Passive Resistance movement, Gandhi wrote:

The greatest good I derived from these sufferings was that gained by undergoing bodily hardships. I could see my mental strength clearly increasing, and it is even now maintained. The experience of the last three months has left me more than ever prepared to undergo all such hardships with ease. I feel that God helps such conscientious objectors, and in putting them to the test He only burdens them with such sufferings as they can bear. [From The Modern Review.]

Gandhi brought the Passive Resistance movement in South Africa to a



(Photo International)

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI
Leader of the Nationalist movement that is seeking to overthrow English rule in India by boycotting everything British

successful conclusion. The more glaring disabilities under which the Indians there had labored were at least legally removed. From that time on they suffered mainly from those social and industrial injustices which are outside the law, and which the dark-skinned Hindus everywhere in the world encounter in countries ruled by the British or American peoples. With the prestige of this great work accomplished, he was in London shortly after the outbreak of the World War and testified to his loyalty by organizing among the Indians and Moslems a Field Ambulance Corps. He was conscious not only of a generous interest in the British cause; he looked toward the near future for a realization among Hindus and Moslems of their common interest in India, the motherland.

On Oct. 1, 1914, Gandhi addressed a crowded meeting at the Polytechnic, Regent Street, London. The occasion was the inauguration of the Indian Field Ambulance Corps, which owed its existence largely to him. Acknowledging a gift of £200 from his Highness the Aga Khan, he said:

We Hindus have to live side by side with Mohammedans. Their sorrows must be our sorrows; their joys must be our joys. I entirely believe in the doctrine that the Hindus and Mohammedans of India are the two eyes of the Mother India. If one is hurt the other is equally affected, and India without Mohammedans or without Hindus would be only a one-eyed mother, and India divided between these two sections, who would war against one another, would only see with one eye and then but faintly and dimly.

CHANGE IN GANDHI'S VIEWS

Gandhi has not always held his present views as to British rule. Only a few years ago he was an ardent advocate of the imperial connection. He hoped then that Britain would recognize the loyalty of India's support during the war and her very material sacrifices of men and money. But the severity with which the expressions of native aspirations were repressed, after the close of the war, drove him and many other loyalists to

take more extreme views. Compare the following speech made in 1915 with his later utterances:

The British Empire has certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of these ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honor and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience. I think that this is true of the British Empire as it is not true of any other Government. [Speech by Gandhi in April, 1915, at the annual gathering of the Madras Law Dinner.]

Following is an extract from his organ, *Young India*, dated Nov. 17, 1921, in which he answers the questions of a reader who reproaches him for his former pro-British views:

Experience has made me wiser. * * * I consider the existing system of government to be wholly bad and requiring special effort to end or mend it. It does not possess within itself any capacity for self-improvement.

Not only did I offer my services at the time of the Zulu revolt, but before that, at the time of the Boer war; and not only did I raise recruits in India during the late war, but I raised an ambulance corps in 1914 in London. If, therefore, I have sinned, the cup of my sins is full to the brim.

That the British Government in India is now unworthy the allegiance of its former loyal Hindu subjects he holds proved by the events of the last few years—events that have raised Gandhi from the position of a highly-respected Indian barrister, a reformer of moderate demands, to that of leadership in a movement which is regarded by the British as the most menacing in the history of the empire. It can always be said of Gandhi that his words are unpromising. They mean just what they say. In a recent issue of *Young India* he wrote:

When a man deliberately breaks his own laws, the disobedience becomes criminal. For he commits the breach, not against himself, but against some one else, and not only escapes punishment for the breach—for there is none provided against the maker of laws—but he avoids also the inconvenience caused by their observance. What is true of the individual is true of the corporation. At the present moment one observes this criminal breach by the Government of its own laws throughout India. Sections of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code are being freely abused. And because non-co-operators refrain from

questioning orders issued by officials, barefaced illegalities are being committed by them with impunity. * * * It is against not only the spirit of Lord Reading's pledge but it is against the letter even of his predecessor's communiqué, in which it was declared in solemn tones that so long as non-co-operators remained non-violent there would be no repression. [Young India, Nov. 17, 1921.]

Nevertheless, the door of reconciliation was still held open. In November, 1921, he penned these significant words:

As a non-co-operator I neither own nor disown George as my King. I have dissociated myself from the system administered under the King's name. I keep myself free to give allegiance to him if I can attain my full growth in his kingdom and can secure full redress of the Khalifate and Punjab wrongs. [Young India, Nov. 17, 1921.]

Just as England has held India in subjection and servitude, the Hindus themselves have been guilty of an equally grave offense toward the pariah class—the "untouchables" of their land. Gandhi contends that caste degradation had no place in the virile traditions of ancient India. True, there were castes, which were in essence a mirroring of the four fundamental occupations — manual labor, trading, soldiering, teaching—but men and women of ability could rise into a higher caste, while the incompetent, the immoral, might suffer degradation into a lower group. The whole nation has suffered by Karmic law because of its cruelty toward the untouchables. For this lack of charity Gandhi has the severest censure. He has never hesitated to mix with the lowest castes; indeed, intentionally he used the terrible third-class accommodation while traveling through India, so that he might know by personal experience what the poorer folk endured.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ADVISED

He holds that it is not only the right but the duty of Indians to refuse allegiance to the Government; but he cautions his followers that they must take the consequences of

civil disobedience without a resort to violence. It may safely be asserted that any sporadic outbreak of violence occurring in India is not only contrary to the wishes of Gandhi, but is in every case regarded by him as a disaster, a failure, a defeat. (For Gandhi is in all things sincere as a child, lucid in his sincerity, and utterly uncompromising as to principle. He holds that the nation is being tested and tempered, prepared for self-government in political affairs by demonstrating spiritual self-government through the difficult path of non-violent non-co-operation.) *the blood shed in 1916*

Civil disobedience which is entered upon prayerfully, as a sacrifice of selfish interests for the sake of the motherland, must not be confused with unsocial and unlawful actions performed in a selfish spirit. The action of a man practicing civil disobedience may bear some superficial resemblance to that of the unsocially minded self-seeker, but they are as far apart as the poles. Gandhi makes this distinction clear with his usual simplicity:

I was grieved to take notice that at the convocation meeting organized on the 9th instant by the National Board of Education, several people had entered Bradlaugh Hall without tickets and without permission. This is not merely uncivil, but criminal, disobedience. For they entered by force where they knew their force would not be resisted by force. Such men are unfit for civil disobedience, which presupposes a scrupulous and willing observance of all laws which do not hurt the moral sense. Obedience to laws of voluntary associations, as the rule of the manager of the convocation, is only the first step to voluntary and ungrudging obedience to the laws imposed by the State. Thoughtless disobedience means disruption of society. The first thing, therefore, for those who aspire after civil disobedience is to learn the art of willingly obeying laws of voluntary associations, such as congresses, conferences and other bodies, and similarly obeying State laws, whether they like them or not. Civil disobedience is not a state of lawlessness, but presupposes a law-abiding spirit combined with self-restraint. [Young India, Nov. 17, 1921.]

THE BOMBAY RIOTS

In November, 1921, during the visit of the Prince of Wales, rioting

broke out in Bombay. Hindus, Mohammedans, Jews, Parsees and Christians were involved. Gandhi's lieutenants moved among the people, exhorting them to disperse and go to their homes. Several of these peace-makers were severely handled by one of the mobs. A few were beaten so badly that they had to have surgical service. On hearing of the riot, Gandhi came down and exerted his utmost influence to bring about peace. He was infinitely saddened by the results of this brute frenzy. At last he found peace by fasting. After four days of this self-inflicted penance the warring factions became alarmed and promised restraint in future. He then broke his fast amid general rejoicings. Writing a sorrowful message to the men of Bombay, he said:

Swaraj (self-determination) does not lie that way. India does not want Bolshevism. The people are too peaceful to stand anarchy. * * * Swaraj is freedom for every one, the smallest among us, to do as he likes, without any physical interference with his liberty. Non-violent non-co-operation is the method whereby we cultivate the freest opinion and get it enforced. [Young India, Nov. 24, 1921.]

There is only one God for us all, whether we find him through the Koran, the Bible, the Zend Avesta, the Talmud, or the Gita. And He is God of Truth and Love. I have no interest in living save for proving this faith in me. I cannot hate an Englishman or any one else. I have spoken and written much against his institutions, especially the one he has set up in India. I shall continue to do so if I live. But you must not mistake my condemnation of the system for that of the man. My religion requires me to love him as I love myself. I would deny God if I did not attempt to prove it at this critical moment. [Gandhi's appeal to Bombay citizens in Young India, Nov. 24, 1921.]

A CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE

He regrets that there are still those, even among his nominal followers, who misunderstand the movement, who are likely to resort to violence when it seems profitable. These he urges to a deeper, a more spiritual understanding:

It has unfortunately to be confessed that non-co-operation still appears and commends itself to many only in its destructive form. While the latter is absolutely essen-

tial, it is the constructive which is the permanent and best part of it. I am painfully conscious of the fact that to many it appears only to be a preparation for violence, whereas non-violence is not only an integral, but the only sustaining part of non-co-operation. It is by itself the largest part of construction. Non-violence at once makes it a religious movement and throws man on God as his only Rock and Refuge. By non-violence the non-co-operator burns his boats and makes steady headway in all weathers. By non-violence the non-co-operator appears before his Maker in his nakedness and commands divine help. He may not appear before him with his Bible or Koran or the Gita in one hand and his gun in the other. He appears, on the contrary, with hands folded, a humble suppliant before the Great White Throne.

I believe in God working through us, and for or against individuals and nations, as surely as I believe in the sun rising regularly at the appointed hour from day to day.

By this discipline of non-violent non-co-operation, for which the Indians, Gandhi contends, are by nature fitted, Swaraj is obtained. There is no long historic process, there are no petitions, no appeals to Parliament. Swaraj *becomes*, descending from the spiritual and organizing itself on the political and industrial. Swaraj is *there* all the time—only it has to be realized. With its realization the great social abuses disappear. The Hindu-Mohammedan feud is settled. The evils of caste are eliminated. From the point of view of the life of a nation, the change is instantaneous. It all depends on the manliness, the virtue, the nobility of the nation. The British have no real power to prevent it, for it comes from within.

RAILWAYS AND MACHINERY

Since Gandhi is known to be an enemy of modern industrialism, many Americans have expressed curiosity as to his attitude in regard to what they consider the necessary mechanical contrivances on which modern life is based. Here, as on many other questions, his extraordinary sincerity is manifest. There is no other political leader in the world who would dare assert that a great people, aspiring to nationhood on an equality with other powers, should limit its use of

modern machinery—should, for example, abandon, whenever possible, the modern power-driven cotton spindle and revert to the use of the antique hand loom used for thousands of years in the Indian village. Other statesmen declare for limitation of armaments. Will the future assert that Gandhi struck deeper—that he struck at the root of the evil when he proposed a limitation of machinery? Here are his thoughts, written down in answer to an anxious questioner:

The question about railways and telegraphs is really too insignificant in relation to the great doctrine I have just discussed. I am not myself banishing the personal use of these conveniences myself. I certainly do not expect the nation to discard their use, nor do I expect their disuse under Swaraj. But I do expect the nation under Swaraj not to believe that these agencies necessarily advance our moral growth or are indispensable for material progress. I would advise the nation to make a limited use of these agencies and not to be feverishly anxious to connect 750,000 villages of India by telegraph and railway. The nation when it feels the glow of freedom will realize that they were needed by our rulers more for our enslavement than for enlightenment. [Young India, Nov. 17, 1921.]

SWADESHI AND AHIMSA

From the time of his arrival in India in 1915 Gandhi began to preach Swadeshi—the use only of goods made in India. Swadeshi has since become the principal economic weapon of his movement. Its practice has resulted in an appreciable decrease in the sales of British-made goods. But, to Gandhi, Swadeshi has deeper meanings than the economic. Speaking before the missionary conference at Madras on Feb. 14, 1916, he defined Swadeshi as follows:

And now for the last division of Swadeshi: Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from Swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India she would be today a land flowing with milk and honey. But this was not to be. We were greedy, and so was England. The connection between England and India was clearly based upon an error. But she does not remain in India in error. It is her declared policy that India is to be held in trust for

her people. If this be true, Lancashire must stand aside. And if the Swadeshi doctrine is a sound doctrine, Lancashire can stand aside without much hurt, though it may sustain a shock for the time being. I think of Swadeshi not as a boycott movement undertaken for revenge. I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all. * * * I would urge that Swadeshi is the only doctrine consistent with the law of humility and love. It is arrogance to think of launching out to serve the whole of India when I am hardly able to serve my own family. It were better to concentrate my efforts upon the family and consider that through them I was serving the whole nation, and, if you will, the whole of humanity. This is humility and it is love!

The driving force behind Gandhi's political non-resistance is his sincere and passionate belief in the power of Ahimsa, which, as he interprets it, means conquering the enemy by love. In an address delivered at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium, Madras, Feb. 16, 1917, he defined Ahimsa, thus:

Literally speaking, Ahimsa means non-killing. But to me it has a world of meaning and takes me into realms much higher, infinitely higher, than the realm to which I would go if I merely understood by Ahimsa non-killing. Ahimsa really means that you may not offend anybody; you may not harbor an uncharitable thought even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy. Pray notice the guarded nature of this thought: I do not say "whom you consider to be your enemy," but "who may consider himself to be your enemy." For one who follows the doctrine of Ahimsa there is no room for an enemy; he denies the existence of an enemy. But there are people who consider themselves to be his enemies, and he cannot help that circumstance. So it is held that we may not harbor an evil thought even in connection with such persons. If we return blow for blow, we depart from the doctrine of Ahimsa. But I go further. If we resent a friend's action or the so-called enemies' action, we still fall short of this doctrine. But when I say we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce; but by resenting I mean wishing that some harm should be done to that enemy, or that he should be put out of the way, even by the action of somebody else, or, say, by divine agency. If we harbor even this thought we depart from the doctrine of Ahimsa. And there is no room for any violence, even for the sake of your country, and even for guarding the honor of precious ones that may be under your charge. After all, that would be a poor defense of honor. This doctrine of Ahimsa tells us that we may guard the honor of those who are under our charge by delivering ourselves into the

hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege. And that requires far greater physical and mental courage than the delivering of blows. You may have some degree of physical power—I do not say courage—and you may use that power. But after that is expended, what happens? The other man is filled with wrath and indignation, and you have made him more angry by matching your violence against his; and when he has done you to death the rest of his violence is delivered against your charge. But if you do not retaliate, but stand your ground between your charge and the opponent, simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens? I give you my promise that the whole of the violence will be expended on you, and your charge will be left unscathed. Under this plan of life there is no conception of patriotism which justifies such wars as you witness today in Europe.

This is an ancient doctrine, and it is indeed only a great and daring soul who would apply it in world politics. Gandhi intends his words to be taken quite simply and literally. Many in India are doing so—women as well as men. Col. Wedgewood, an Englishman, a political opponent of Gandhi, says:

He is as serious as a child, and as pure. One does not feel it blasphemous to compare him with Christ; and Christ, too, one suspects, gave infinite trouble to reasonable and respectable followers.

Gandhi's followers are in a very simple and literal sense doing what he advises. People have made bonfires of their own foreign-made clothes, lawyers have abandoned lucrative practices, thousands of cases have been taken out of the law courts. The English-speaking schools are adversely affected. Over 25,000 titles have been renounced. The ancient hand-loom is coming into its own, and the sound of the spinning-wheel is again heard in the village. Women have a great part in this movement, for Gandhi is sternly against any thought of repression because of sex. The lowest castes are with him as well as the educated young men. It is a folk movement of all India—a passionate determination to return to that Aryan Way which gave so much to the world long ago when England was a forest and America was undiscovered. It is not

merely a political phenomenon; it is a remembering of that bright dawn of history when the virile Aryans poured down through the Himalayan passes upon the plains of India—these Aryans, who are our own cousins and whose speech we still carry into daily life. In India today they cry in different words the same slogan that was used by our ancestors—the words that fired the English at Runnymede, the Americans at Bunker Hill. It is an ancient word, a word that has ever stirred the Aryan blood—the word Freedom!

[RECENT EVENTS IN INDIA—At present the most interesting aspect of the silent revolt in India is its reaction upon the official tour of the Prince of Wales from one end of the country to the other—a visit that is to last eight months. Thus far no violence has been attempted against the young Prince, though in some cities his presence has been greeted with a hartal, a sort of general strike. His progress through the native States has left nothing undone by the ruling Princes to express their loyalty to the British throne and empire. Those scenes of gorgeous pomp and splendor—associated with great occasions in India—recall the stately ceremonials of bygone centuries, especially in Rajputana, a name synonymous with all that was best in medieval chivalry. But at Allahabad the hartal, or day of mourning, proclaimed by Mr. Gandhi was put into such effect that the flag-bedecked streets were empty of other welcome. Benares proved a more pleasant experience, for in spite of the hartal the populace indulged in a holiday festival. After some days' big game hunting in Nepal the Prince emerged at Patna, where the hartal was but half successful. He arrived in Calcutta on Dec. 24 and received a cordial welcome. On Dec. 28 the Prince opened the Victoria Memorial, a vast marble palace erected to the memory of Queen Victoria. After his arrival at Madras on Jan. 13 there was rioting. Arrests for sedition continue on an increasing scale over a large part of the country. Among many notables sent to prison in December was Mr. Gandhi's son and Lajpat Rai, a prominent Indian Nationalist. The Moplah revolt was reported on Dec. 22 as rapidly approaching a collapse, with only 2,500 active rebels in the field. * * * At a full session of the Indian National Congress at Ahmedabad on Dec. 29, a resolution was adopted declaring Gandhi the sole executive authority, with full powers over the Congress organization, and endorsing his non-violence policy. The apparent result of this is to make Mr. Gandhi the duly-appointed dictator of all Nationalist activities in India.]

THE CARNIVAL OF CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES

BY CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

Astounding statistics showing the rapid increase of murders and robberies—Encouragement of criminality becoming a national cult—Laxity of laws and maudlin sentimentality the chief causes

EVIDENCE that crime is increasing in the United States in a most alarming way is so abundant and conclusive that it cannot be controverted. But because statistics on crime, so far as they are kept at all, are kept in a desultory, detached and fragmentary way which evokes the openly expressed amazement of foreign criminologists, it is not possible to present a comprehensive statement of facts on the subject. Annual reports of the Police Commissioner of New York City, for example, form huge volumes, from which it is altogether impossible to glean any true idea of crime conditions. Not a single large city in the country issues a clear and comprehensive police report. No two follow the same form; none follows the same form from year to year. Annual periods covered begin at different times of the year, so that comparisons are out of the question. For these reasons such facts as are available are necessarily *understatements*; yet, perhaps, they may suffice to give some idea of the growing menace to life and property which long ago attained the proportions of a national disgrace.

One significant indication of present tendencies is the increase in losses paid by burglary insurance companies, which grew from an aggregate of \$1,686,195 in 1916 to \$5,670,760 in 1919 and to \$10,189,853 in 1920—an increase of 543 per cent. in five years.

From the fragmentary information available the total amount of money and property stolen in the United States in 1921 is estimated at \$302,799,000. This includes only theft with or without violence, and does not include the many millions obtained by fraud.

The most trustworthy statistics on a single phase of crime are those of the American Bankers Association on bank burglaries and hold-ups. Even these are not complete; for, while they cover the 23,632 member banks fully, there is no way of knowing how complete the figures are for the 9,611 non-members. For another thing, these statistics make no mention of the numerous murders committed by bank robbers, such as the double killing at Pearl River, N. Y., last December.

These statistics tell a startling story. In the year ended Aug. 31, 1921, there were 136 hold-ups and 319 burglaries of banks—a *bank robbery in some form every 19 hours and 15 minutes of the year!* The aggregate loss was \$1,224,489, as compared with 122 hold-ups and 393 burglaries, with an aggregate loss of \$1,002,493, in 1920, and 80 hold-ups and 115 burglaries, with a loss of \$301,792, in 1917. In the twenty-three years ended with 1917 the aggregate loss amounted to \$2,609,754, an annual average of \$113,467. An increase from an annual average loss by robbery of \$113,467 to \$301,792, in the last year of the period, and to

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

The Judge must be recalled!

Chicago. Applying the per capita rate of theft of these four cities, which may be taken as fairly representative, to the 52 per cent. of population living in cities and towns of 2,500 population or over, and a per capita of 50 cents for the remainder of the population, would give a loss by theft of \$138,605,000. Adding the various items enumerated in the foregoing gives a grand total of \$302,788,000 as the probable approximate loss annually by theft with and without violence. While there may be duplications in these figures, it is equally probable that some important items have been omitted. A gross annual income of \$302,799,000 is hardly enough to support the criminal population estimated hereinafter in the style to which its members have been accustomed.

The losses of property are but a single item in the terrific burden imposed by crime. Police protection,

the ponderous machinery of justice and the maintenance of penal institutions add hundreds of millions to the total. Dividing the police budget by the total number of arrests shows that the arrest of a suspect costs from \$14.60 in Indianapolis to \$90.70 in New York and \$163 in Youngstown, Ohio.

Judge Otto A. Rosalsky of the New York Court of General Sessions, who, for a quarter of a century, has been exclusively engaged in dealing with crime, first as Assistant District Attorney and for the last sixteen years as a Judge, estimates that there are 30,000 professional criminals in New York State. The Chicago Crime Commission estimates that there are 10,000 professional criminals in that city, or, roughly, one-third of 1 per cent. of the population. Applying this ratio to the population of the United States would give a total of 352,000

professional criminals; Judge Rosalsky's ratio would make it 300,000 in round numbers. Whatever its exact number, this army of professional criminals is highly organized and efficient, while the forces of law and order are pathetically inadequate. There are criminal cases that have been on the docket in New York City for two years; the docket as a whole is said to be about a year and a half behind. Such great delay amounts to a denial of justice, as is proved by results. Only one-third of the prisoners arraigned in New York City in the first eleven months of 1921 on the charge of robbery were convicted, while the cases tried represented but 54 per cent. of those reaching the District Attorney's office.

Federal courts deal with an indeterminable, but certainly a small, fraction of felonies; yet the number of cases dealt with there may serve as an indication of general condi-

tions. The Attorney General reports that in the year ended June 30, 1921, 54,487 criminal cases were commenced in the Federal courts, as compared with 47,443 in 1919, an increase of 14 per cent. in two years. But this does not tell the whole story, because these courts are falling steadily behind in their work from year to year. Indictments pending in Federal courts in 1921 numbered 70,000, as compared with 9,503 in 1912. Even after deducting the 30,000 cases arising under the prohibition laws, an increase of 332 per cent. in ten years is alarming, even for a nation given to boasting of big things.

SITUATION IN CHICAGO

As an indication of the increase in crime, the murders in Chicago are disquieting. In 1921 there were 352 murders in that city, almost one a day throughout the year, as compared with 336 in 1919, 255 in 1916, 216 in 1914 and 159 in 1910—an increase of 121 per cent. in twelve years. For years the average annual number of murders in Berlin, a city four-fifths the size of Chicago, was twenty-five. That is, the proportion of murders to population in Chicago is more than eleven times greater than in Berlin. Yet Chicago is not exceptional. Cleveland, with one-tenth the population of London, had twice as many murders as that metropolis in 1918. Los Angeles, one-twentieth the size of London, had 10 more murders than the latter city in 1917.

According to the murder statistics collected by The Chicago Tribune—the only data extant covering the whole country—59,377 murders were committed in the United States in the seven years from 1912 to 1918, inclusive. The total number of battle deaths of American soldiers in the World War was 50,327. That is, the number murdered in seven years was 9,050 greater than the number of American soldiers killed in all their battles in the greatest war in history. In every one of the seven years the number of murders was more than

double, and in one year more than treble, the number of Union soldiers killed at Gettysburg, the bloodiest battle of the Civil War.

First cousin to murder is lynching. In 1921 there were 63 lynchings, as compared with 65 in 1920, 64 in 1918, 38 in 1917, 54 in 1916, 69 in 1915. In the thirty-two years from 1889 to 1921, a grand total of 3,161 persons have been lynched by American mobs.

While the whole story of the increase of crime has not been told, and from the nature of the circumstances cannot be, enough has been said to justify the assertion that the United States is the most lawless nation on the globe, barring only Russia under Bolshevik rule. Even there crimes are not committed so much by individual enemies of society as under the pretext, at least, of official sanction.

WAR NOT THE CAUSE

It is customary to apologize for ever-increasing lawlessness by attributing it to the after-effects of the war. All wars are followed by temporary increases in crime, so we are told. Such an explanation is superficial and worthless. Only the shallowest memory or the most casual research is needed to establish the fact that the tendencies now bearing their perfect fruit began long before the war, and that they have not been accelerated beyond their normal rate of development by anything which honestly can be attributed to the war or its effects. For 30 years, at least, the increase in crime has been the subject of public comment. In 1908, six years before the war began, Chief Justice Taft, in an address before the Civic Forum in New York City, said:

The administration of criminal law in this country is a disgrace to our civilization. The prevalence of crime and fraud, which here is greatly in excess of that in European countries, is due largely to the failure of the law and its administration to bring criminals to justice. * * * Since 1885 there have been 131,915 murders and 2,286 executions. In 1885 the number of murders was 1,808; in 1904 it had grown to 8,482. The number of executions in 1885 was 108; in 1904, 116. This startling increase in the number of murders as compared with the number of executions tells the story. As

murder is on the increase, so are all offenses of the felony class; and there can be no doubt that they will continue to increase unless the criminal laws are enforced with more certainty, more uniformity and more severity than they now are.

But have the laws been enforced with more uniformity, certainty and severity? They have not. In 1915, two years before the United States entered the World War, the number of murders had increased to 9,230, while executions numbered only 119.

In 1885 there was one execution to each 16.7 murders; that is, the odds in favor of the murderer were 16.7 to 1; pretty safe, but still serious enough to give pause to those bent on homicide; for even if they escaped the gallows there was the chance of a long term of imprisonment. In those days prisons were not the pleasant retreats for gentlemen with conscientious objections to hard work that they have since become. By 1904 the odds that the murderer could escape the death penalty had increased to 73 to 1; by 1915 the odds had lengthened to 77.5 to 1; by 1918, to 90 to 1.

In these more enlightened days the murderer does not have to run even one chance in 90 of suffering the extreme penalty. In 1920 the District Attorney of New York City investigated 679 homicide cases. Of these 130 were presented to a Grand Jury, which returned 78 indictments. Of the total just one was convicted of murder in the first degree! The odds had lengthened to 679 to 1 in favor of the murderer, in New York City, at least. Even that does not tell the whole story; for the record does not disclose whether this solitary convicted murderer actually paid the extreme penalty, or whether by numberless legal tricks he was released on bail and eventually turned loose.

CANADA'S BETTER METHODS

In Canada things are done differently. At the United States ratio of murder to population, Canada should have had 460 such crimes in 1913. The actual number was 55. The number of accused brought to trial was 55, of

whom 23 were convicted and sentenced to death; and the sentence was executed without any of the long delays so familiar on our side of the boundary. Of the rest, 5 were sent to insane asylums and the remaining 27 were acquitted. When the crime of murder is accompanied by such grave risk it is small wonder that murders are few.

In Philadelphia there were 501 highway robberies in 1919, as compared with 471 the preceding year and 330 in 1913. In Baltimore there were 319 highway robberies in 1919, as compared with 27 in 1913. In New York City, 1,133 assaults and robberies were reported in 1919, as compared with 864 in 1917. In the whole Dominion of Canada just 20 highway robberies were reported in 1918.

During the construction of the first transcontinental railroad in the United States, the railroad was a temporary camp in which every species of crime flourished with no restraint whatever. Conditions were so outrageous that these temporary towns came to be known as "Hell on Wheels." The only excuse, when anybody took the trouble to offer one, was that these temporary towns were on the frontier beyond the reach of organized society. Every other Western railroad was built under identical conditions. Yet the Canadian Pacific was built entirely without the obligation of crime considered inevitable in this country. The frontier camp was a peaceful community, without disorder and without drunkenness. The few unsophisticated American bootleggers who volunteered to assuage the thirst of the railroad men in Canada were treated by the Northwest Mounted Police with a discourtesy that amounted to rudeness.

As late as the first decade of the twentieth century, when the last of the transcontinental lines, the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound Railway, was built, the old familiar "Hell on Wheels," a trifle subdued, to be sure, accompanied the van. The same contractor who built a tunnel for this road with the usual accompaniment

of drunkenness, gambling, robbery and murder at his camp, immediately after the job was done obtained a contract to build a tunnel for the Canadian Pacific in the same range of mountains a few hundred miles further north. There was not a single murder, nor even so much as a robbery or assault in or around that Canadian camp from beginning to end.

Canadians are descended from the same ancestral stock as ourselves; they live on the same continent under similar climatic conditions, separated from us, physically, only by an invisible line. Morally the breach seems to be considerably wider; for the Canadians respect their own laws and are prompt to compel respect from the few who need compulsion.

ORGANIZATIONS OF THIEVES

As further evidence that the war has had no more to do with the increase in crime than the eruption of Krakatoa in 1883 had on the ravages of the boll weevil in 1921, observe that criminal depredations which had been steadily increasing in Chicago at least since the world's fair in 1893, became so intolerable that at last on May 18, 1914, ten weeks before the war began, the city council appointed a committee of three to investigate and report on conditions and recommend remedies. This committee's report, submitted March 22, 1915, allowing for differences in volume in proportion to population and perhaps in details of particular varieties of crime, would serve to describe conditions existing in an unpleasantly large number of American cities.

The committee found that the greater part of the stealing, amounting in the aggregate to millions of dollars, was done by organized thieves. In fact, the business of burglary, highway robbery and the like, with incidental murder on occasion, was highly organized. Professional criminals had built up a system which the committee designated as a "crime trust," with roots extending through the police force, the bar, the public

prosecutor's office, bondsmen and political officials. Collusion existed between members of the detective force and professional criminals, while graft, favoritism and political influence tended strongly toward demoralization of the police force and particularly the detective branch.

The burglars' trust had its wholesalers, its jobbers and its retailers with interstate and interurban branches. The committee found 39 fences, 100 "hang-outs" for professional criminals, many of them kept by criminals, and 500 professional criminals. Of course, they did not pretend to have exhausted the possibilities of discovery; but what was found was enough to show how flagrant and unafraid the crime trust had become.

Certain professional bondsmen not only supplied bonds for criminals unfortunate enough to be arrested, but acted as general "fixers," to smooth out misunderstandings with the culprits' associates on the police force. There was also a group of criminal lawyers whose work included dealing with the police, furnishing professional alibis and professional witnesses, jury fixing and spiriting away inconvenient witnesses, procuring exhaustive continuances, and all the underground activities of all-around fixers.

The police organization and methods were found to be wholly inadequate to cope with conditions, even if all had been honest. Crime statistics were incomplete and not assembled or published by authority, and not open to the public. Even at that the committee was able to find and report an increase in criminal complaints from 11,732 in 1905 to 14,340 in 1913—some time before the war, it will be observed. Of 7,342 felony cases 932 resulted in convictions, but only 208 finally received penitentiary or reformatory sentences; that is, only one felony in 69 was punished at all. "Treatment of those sent to penal institutions is pitifully ineffective," said the committee.

From this it will be seen that the risk of punishment for crime in Chicago is hardly great enough to be very effective as a deterrent. To offset this and provide the desirable camouflage of great zeal on the part of the police department and the courts, the committee reported that "the present machinery catches poor, petty and occasional criminals and punishes them severely," while "thousands of innocent persons are annually imprisoned in the county jail, many of them under disgraceful conditions, tending to create criminals."

CRIME IN NEW YORK

New York City employs other methods. New York has even gone so far as to reprimand a convicted burglar! In the two years, 1920-21, there were 6,035 arrests for burglary in New York. Of these, 3,380 were discharged and 2,755 convicted. But, of the 2,755 convicted, 987 received suspended sentences; 94 were paroled or bonded, while 67 were fined, a punishment which involved no loss of liberty, or their bonds were forfeited, which means that they were freed by their own act. And then, of course, there was the one that was reprimanded. Thus, of the grand total of convicted burglars, 41.7 per cent. were able to escape jail altogether; the rest went either to hospitals for the insane or to prison.

Suspended sentences are by no means peculiar to the city. The Secretary of State of New York reports that 34.6 per cent. of all sentences imposed in 1919 by the criminal courts of the State were suspended. Yet 90 per cent. of all convictions were secured on pleas of guilty. The routine seems to be: Commit your crime, wait at the police station until a bail bond can be made out, which frees you to continue operations until your case is reached (and the courts are one to two years behind on their work), then plead guilty, accept a suspended sentence, and repeat.

Sometimes the trial Judge forgets to suspend the sentence. In that case

the Parole Board comes to the rescue of the culprit. In the year ended June 30, 1920, the New York Parole Board placed 19,637 prisoners, one-third of the total prison population of 59,033 for that year, on parole.

The New York law provides that "courts may place defendants on parole for all offenses except those punishable by death or life imprisonment." In Michigan, defendants may be paroled "where it appears to the satisfaction of the court that the defendant is not likely again to engage in an offense or criminal course of conduct, and that the public good does not require that the defendant shall suffer the penalty imposed by law."

PROBATION LAWS ABUSED

Every State in the Union has a probation law along these general lines. In 1919 no fewer than 200,000 delinquents were "dealt with" on parole. And for fear some criminal might suffer the inconvenience of a temporary sojourn in jail, the National Probation Association procured the enactment by Congress of a bill conferring upon the Federal courts the privilege, now enjoyed by State courts, of freeing felons; but President Wilson vetoed the bill, thus putting the National Probation Association to the trouble of going through with its Congressional campaign all over again.

Addressing the National Probation Association in 1920, Edwin J. Cooley, Chief Probation Officer of New York City Magistrates' Court, asserted that the "success of the probation system, which had its origin in America, had been remarkable." Massachusetts, which originated the system, had not built a prison cell in twenty years, he said, while half the existing cells were empty.

Unemotional statistics compiled by the Secretary of State seem to indicate that if Massachusetts has stopped building prisons it is not for the reason that they are not needed. Nor do these statistics tend to encourage the ardent faith in criminal nature

professed by the uplifters; for they show that criminal trials begun in the courts of Massachusetts in 1919 included 181 murder cases, as compared with 161 in 1918; 472 robbery cases, 89 burglary and 971 cases of breaking, entering and larceny, as compared with 288, 50 and 375 cases, respectively, in the preceding year.

In further confirmation of conclusions to be drawn from statistics in preference to the assertion of uplifters, it may be remarked that in 1917 the records showed that 87 per cent. of the prisoners confined in various New York State prisons were repeaters. On this showing it would appear that the 200,000 probationers dealt with in 1919 must have included 174,000 professional criminals who would take advantage of their liberation to resume depredations upon society.

In this connection it should be remembered that a prison sentence is not what it appears to be. Such liberal deductions are provided by law that, for example, a sentence of twenty years, which happens to be the maximum permitted for manslaughter in New York, is automatically reduced to ten years two months and twenty days in the case of an ex-convict. A first offender would receive an indeterminate sentence of ten to twenty years, on which he would receive a reduction of about ten days in each thirty of his minimum sentence.

AMERICAN PEOPLE TO BLAME

Perhaps enough facts have been adduced to show that the administration of justice has been growing steadily worse in the fourteen years since Chief Justice Taft characterized it as a "disgrace to our civilization." It follows, then, that the American people, not the war, are to blame for what amounts to a breakdown of the whole system of administering justice. It has been the people's own chosen representatives who, responding in some instances to explicit demands, in other instances prompted by an ever-growing public spirit of lawlessness, an intolerance of author-

ity and a maudlin sentimentalism regarding those whose misdeeds have brought them into conflict with the law, have enacted statutes restricting Judges, Prosecutors and police in the performance of their duty and conserving the rights of the wrong-doer until the superior rights of society have been altogether lost sight of. In effect, the American people seem to have resolved themselves into a standing committee of the whole to encourage crime and protect the criminal.

Bearing in mind the complacency with which the acquittal of the Matewan murderers was received; the horrible record of lynchings; the spectacle of San Francisco women overwhelming with kisses and flowers a motion picture actor upon his release from jail charged with killing a girl under disgusting circumstances; the oration of the committing magistrate from the bench to justify his refusal to hold this same actor on a charge of murder; the clamor for the release of Debs, who confessed in court that he had done all he could to stab his country in the back while it was at war; and a thousand other kindred incidents which will readily occur to any newspaper reader, it would seem as if the encouragement of crime had become a national cult.

THE REMEDY

The fact is worthy of note that the aforementioned report of the Chicago Council Committee had no effect whatever, because it was not followed by action. Nothing happened until 1919, when the Chicago Association of Commerce, as the result of its own study of crime conditions, appointed a permanent crime committee, led by a former District Attorney, to deal with a condition which seemed almost hopeless. This committee's successor, under the name of the Chicago Crime Commission, is now at work. A part of its program is embodied in these suggested remedies:

A larger police force, free from political taint.

Better Judges, and restrictions on granting new trials.

Repeal of the law permitting change of sentence after it is imposed.

Take the selection of Judges out of the sinkhole of politics.

Dispense with juries in certain criminal cases where it would be to the advantage of the community and not unjust to the defendant.

Begin criminal prosecutions, except capital offenses and conspiracy charges, by filing information, thus eliminating the Grand Jury.

Maintain efficient bureaus of records of criminals.

Amend indeterminate sentence and parole laws.

Study further the problem of mental defectives and secure legislation to segregate this class from normal citizens.

More severe punishment for carrying concealed weapons.

Basing his suggestions on the retention of the present probation system, Judge Rosalsky proposes that in every case involving moral turpitude the State should have control over the delinquent in such a way as to keep him under restraining influence for a long period. Judge Rosalsky would create a board of rehabilitation composed of criminologists and penologists, to whom the delinquent should be responsible after his release. If charged with violation of

his parole, the delinquent, instead of having a trial by jury, should be brought before the Judge who sentenced him—or his successor—with witnesses, and if the charges are sustained the culprit should be sent back to prison. Only if the Judge should be left in doubt should there be trial by jury. Thus ex-convicts could be disposed of with celerity. Instead of two days, the case could be settled in fifteen minutes; and the calendars, now a year and a half behind, would no longer be crowded. A further important point is that the prisoner is not to be released without the consent of the Judge who committed him. Above all, the fact should be emphasized that the commission of crime involves severe punishment.

But the whole present system of penology is wrong, Judge Rosalsky holds. In a hearing before the Assembly Code Committee last February he said:

"It is time for well-meaning reformers who have wasted a good deal of sympathy and given too much consideration to hardened criminals to step aside and permit honest citizens to have the protection the courts want to give them."

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FRENCH RULE IN THE CAMEROON

WHEN France took over German Cameroon (in Africa) she was unable to continue the land régime established by the Germans, owing to the impossibility of obtaining all the documents necessary to establish titles and transfers. Organization, or, rather, reorganization was begun only in 1920-21; the German legislation was then taken up and modified so as to give the district a new and individual land system. By a Government decree dated Sept. 15, 1921, the land was classified under four categories, and the conditions of transfer were laid down. Measures were devised to pro-

tect the natives against both speculation and expropriation, a proviso being made that no application for alienation of land belonging to native individual or collective owners shall be acted upon until a full investigation has been conducted by the local authorities. In case eviction from large domains should prove necessary, a fair indemnity is to be paid those evicted, and new lands are to be provided for them. The main object of the French Government in its dealings with the natives is to combine protection with the privilege of owning land, either individually or collectively.

THE ISLAND OF YAP AND ITS PEOPLE

BY WILLIAM HERBERT HOBBS

Professor of Geology in the University of Michigan

An interesting account of a visit to the much-discussed island in the South Seas, which Japan now rules—Stories of O'Keefe and his life among the natives—Curious community houses.

[ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR]

ONE might count upon the fingers the place names which now find more frequent mention in American news items than that of the thirty square miles of tropical jungle hidden away on one of the forgotten byways of the Pacific which goes by the name of Yap, ~~Wap~~ or ~~Wap~~. Five times each year the world reaches out to it a slim finger when the Chikuzen Maru touches at its port of Tomil on her way from Japan to the Pelew Islands. The importance of Yap in the world's affairs, and its dominant position in the news of the period, it owes almost exclusively to the fact that it is the junction point of the oceanic cable lines which run to Manila (by way of Guam), to Shanghai and to Menado on the Island of Celebes. As this nerve centre in the international cable system, it figured in the discussions of the Peace Conference at Paris and remained a subject of international difference until the United States and Japan finally reached an agreement on it during the early weeks of the arms conference.

The Island of Yap is on the extreme western margin of that broad band of widely scattered volcanic and coral islands which lies not far south of the route from Honolulu to Manila and is known as the Carolines; a belt which is extended to the eastward in the Marshalls, both groups being now in the possession of Japan as a conse-

quence of the allocations of the Peace Conference.

Like Ponape and Kusai in the Eastern Carolines, and the archipelago of Truk near the centre of the group, Yap is of volcanic origin—a double dome of lava partially dissected by stream erosion, and, like them, given its present form as a result of the progressive settlement of the sea floor on which it rests. As the island has subsided the coral reef, which once closely hugged the shore, has become separated from it by a lagoon which communicates with the open sea through several channels, only one of which is navigable for modern vessels. Within the lagoon the coral growth still goes on and is gradually filling it, here with a broad area of reef, there with the scattered coral heads which rise abruptly to near the surface from depths of a number of fathoms.

The northeastern half of the island has its shores deeply embayed where the lower reaches of the river valleys have been flooded during the process of subsidence. One of these embayments of the eastern side of the island penetrates far inland and is the harbor of Tomil, which, in spite of a rather narrow entrance, a cross-tide near its mouth, and an exposure to easterly winds, is one of the best in this part of the Pacific.

A striking object lesson upon one of the perils to which ships are ex-

oup

posed in this part of the world—during the rainy season—is furnished by the wreck of the Kokura Maru of 3,000 tons burden, which occurred in December, 1920, in the harbor of Tomil. As the ship was leaving the harbor she was suddenly struck, when in the narrowest part of the channel, by one of those tropical rain squalls which, like a child's fickle temper, come without warning and are as quickly gone. All navigation marks were immediately blotted out in the heavy downpour, and the ship was set down upon the reef of the western wall by the strong cross-tide, and there its bones remain, a grim warning to all vessels which enter the port. The number of vessels calling at Yap is extremely small, and the United States gunboat Bittern, which came from Manila to take me aboard for a cruise of geological research, was the first American ship to enter the port in ten years, the last having been the Supply in 1911.

The rain squalls with their gusts of wind have, however, nothing in common with the fierce typhoon which is the grim despoiler of these fair islands. Last November a year ago Yap was visited by one of these hurricanes which wrecked most of the native houses, completely ruined the cocoanut crop, and left the islanders in an impoverished condition. In the southern third of the island, which is low and without protection from the hills, I passed through village after village in which everything had been carried away or overturned. The tall tree columns of the native clubhouses alone remained standing as reminders of the helplessness of the native in the face of these visitations of nature when in her implacable moods.

YAP'S MOST FAMOUS MAN

Two islands within the harbor of Yap, between the anchorage and the landing, are full of memories of that rough but kindly empire-builder, the Irish-American David D. O'Keefe,

the most successful man this part of the Pacific has ever developed. When he disappeared in 1901 his property was reported to be valued at some millions of German marks, mainly real estate in Hongkong and Yap, and cocoanut groves on many coral islands of the Western Pacific.

O'Keefe was the type of man who in Sarawak would have been Rajah, as was Brooke; but here there was already the established civil government of Spain. From the natives he bought the copra (dried cocoanut meat), transported it to Hongkong on his schooner, and returned laden with the goods of which they stood in need. The small army of natives which moved at his command, and on whom he used his fists freely whenever occasion demanded, had been recruited not alone from Yap, but from those isolated islands far to the southwestward—Sonsorol, Warren Hastings, Lord North and St. David's—islands which are still described in the pilot books of navigators as inhabited by natives that are fierce and wild and on no account to be trusted.

Many stories are told of O'Keefe's prowess, how single-handed he arrested a native chieftain noted as a desperate man and a murderer, for which exploit he was officially thanked by the Spanish Government; how when shipwrecked on the Pelew Islands and about to be murdered he was saved by his native wife and other native women throwing themselves about him. It is known that he knocked down his manager and nearly killed him by a blow on the temple and that after trial by the German authorities he was sentenced to two months' imprisonment. It was while out on bail that he disappeared, and though no proofs of his death have ever been supplied, it is known that he sailed out of Hongkong in his schooner, the Santa Cruz, with two of his sons and ran into a typhoon. This was in 1901, when he was 72 years of age. His widow, a native woman, still lives on the little Island

of Tarang, in the harbor of Yap, where O'Keefe had located his trading station; and one of his daughters, Mrs. Alfred Scott, has her home across the channel on the Island of Dunig, somewhat nearer the landing at Colony. Mrs. Scott inherits many of the strong traits of her father,* and speaks a fluent and, for this part of the world, a rather distinguished English. O'Keefe was a native of Savannah, Ga., and deserted a wife and daughter when he took up his residence in the Pacific.

HABITS OF THE NATIVES

The natives of Yap have advanced in civilization somewhat less

*According to a recent cable dispatch from Yap, this daughter of half-native parentage is now managing the large cocoanut groves and shipping interests left by her father, and they are flourishing under her direction; she has the only grand piano in the island. Mrs. Scott's husband, a trader, died in 1918, and since then she has run the business single handed. Though the Japanese flag flies over Yap, and a Japanese Governor makes its laws, Mrs. Scott is said to be "the real boss of the island."—Editor.

than their neighbors in the other Caroline islands lying to the eastward, and they are for that reason so much the more interesting to study. They are of muscular development, with a dark brown skin and curly black hair, the old men frequently wearing beards. The only clothing of the men is the narrow breech cloth, usually red, and the women and girls wear as their only garment a short skirt of grass or leaves, which may be replaced by a woven fabric of excellent workmanship. The love of ornamentation, which is highly developed in these natives, shows itself particularly in the use of combs by the men, these combs being of many forms and generally constructed out of the wood of the white mangrove. Perhaps the commonest form, and certainly the most artistic of them, resembles a fish's tail and projects forward from the forehead for a distance of ten inches or a foot. The favorite earring, worn in one ear only,



Home of Mrs. Alfred Scott on Dunig Island in Tomil Harbor. In the foreground are Mrs. Scott and her little boy, the chief petty officer of the Steamship Bittern, and four of Mrs. Scott's native servants



A group of native women standing in front of the Pa-bai at Tomil with the navigating officer of the Bittern. Note the enormous cylinder of stone money at the right

is made from the pink shell lining which is in use for money, but it is attached to the ear by a very small perforation, so that it does not produce such disfigurement as one sees in the ears of the Mortlock islanders to the eastward.

Both sexes chew the betel or areca nut almost constantly and without removing the bark. Lime obtained by burning the material of the coral reefs is sifted over the nut from a sifter made of a bamboo section, and the nut is wrapped in a leaf of pepper before it is put into the mouth. Natives are seldom seen without their bag of nuts and leaves and the bamboo sifter. Because of this practice of betel chewing their gums and lips are red and swollen and their teeth blackened. But for this disfigurement of their mouths many of the women would be pronounced distinctly good-looking.

The men of Yap are excellent canoe men and at home in the water,

though perhaps inferior in this respect to the natives of Ponape. About the ships in the harbor, if a line which is thrown falls short, it is never pulled in for a second throw. A native is immediately in the water and back again upon the ship before the line could be drawn in for recoiling. When navigating the lagoons in a canoe, it has more than once happened on a single trip that my canoe men have paddled, sailed, poled, waded on the reef, and lifted the canoe, as wind and depth of water have changed.

COMMUNITY HOUSES

Their canoes, their bamboo rafts, and the cleverly constructed homes and clubhouses the natives of Yap put together without the use of anything resembling a nail. Everything is made fast by cords, and it is in part because of this fact that the devastation wrought by the typhoons is so complete. The design, workmanship,

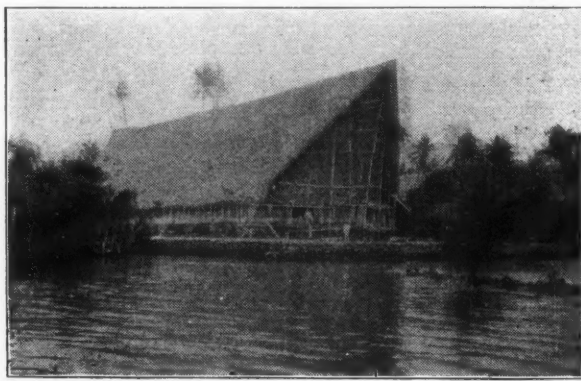


A bachelors' clubhouse, or Fa-lu, occupied only by young men of Yap. It is built without a nail anywhere in the structure

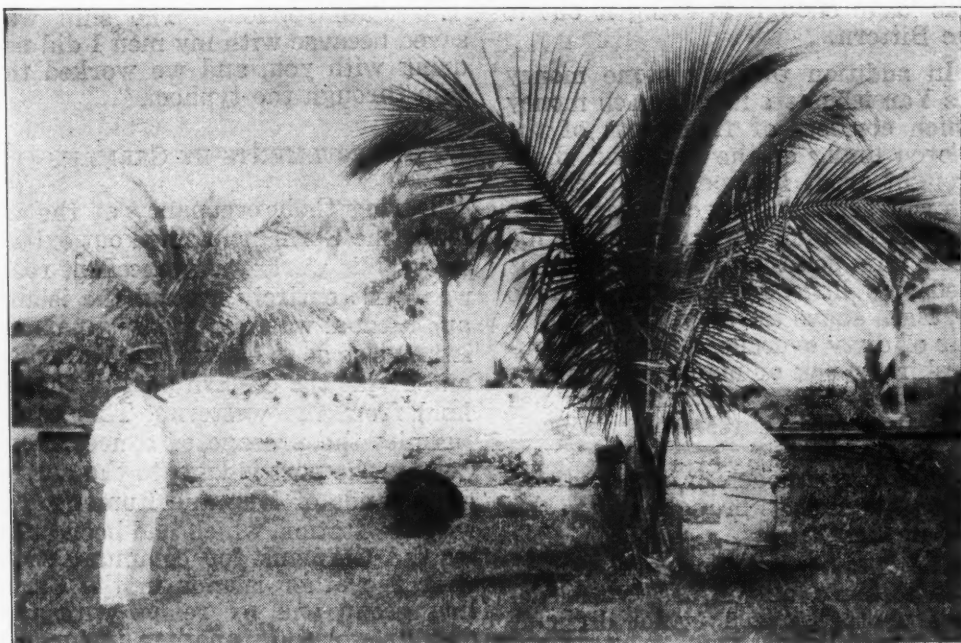
and artistic decoration of the clubhouses entitle these natives to a higher place in the scale of civilization than would be accorded them on the basis of their personal appearance. The community houses are of two types, the *fa-lu*, or bachelors' clubhouse, and the larger and more elaborately decorated *pa-bai*, which, though built especially for the men, is open to the women as well.

These community houses, in external appearance particularly, bear some resemblance to the native houses in Sumatra, having outwardly projecting peaks with gables which also project along the medial plane. They are decorated on the exterior, sometimes by painted logs which project horizontally like exaggerated gargoyles,

sometimes by great colored shells pendent from the peak of the roof. Within, these structures are dark, being lighted only from the low side and end openings, but the great peeled log pillars which support the roof are so placed as to yield a central nave with transepts. Above the high



Community house, or Pa-bai, at the village of Rull, Yap Island. Native houses of this type are occupied by both men and women



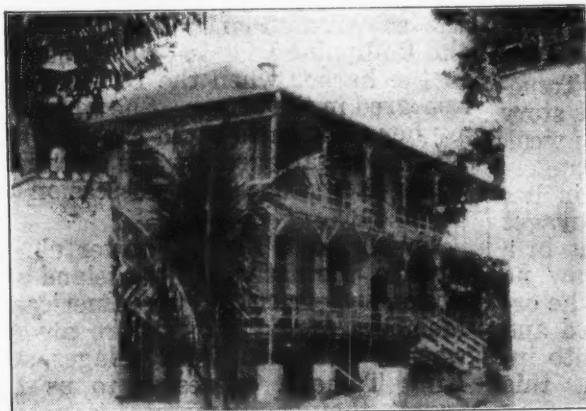
Bomb-proof structure built by the Germans near the old Spanish fort on Yap Island. The man in the foreground is a native guide

central nave one can make out in the dim light the squared braces where connections are made to the roof, and these are covered with cord, which is tied in most artistic, interlacing patterns.

All about the *pa-bais* and the *fa-lus*, and in lesser degree about the houses of kings and chieftains, are to be seen the great money wheels of aragonite

which these hardy voyagers or their ancestors have brought on their rafts two hundred miles across the open sea from the Pelew Islands to the southwest. As some of these wheels are fully seven feet in diameter and their weight is measured in tons, their use as money must be looked upon rather as a bank deposit not easily convertible during a panic, and far better to be

reckoned as prestige. In the Pelew Islands, where the wheels were quarried out of an elevated and profoundly altered reef-limestone, a considerable number of larger wheels are still to be seen lying in the shallow water of Malakal Harbor near the trading post. These wheels are exposed at low tide, and none of them is under twelve feet in diameter. An attempt which I made to raise one from its bed and transport it to America was without success because none of our boats



Cable station at Yap, the centre of an international dispute that has finally been adjusted after two years of diplomatic discussion

was large enough to bring it out to the Bittern.

In addition to their stone money the Yap islanders have a shell money which consists of fragments of the colored lining of the beautiful shells brought from Ponape, and a chief's son who served as my canoeman wore some fifteen dollars' worth about his neck. In point of fact, money is used very little, for the natives have not risen above the stage of barter. A pair of dirty overalls, a discarded undershirt, a box of matches, or a few cigarettes—these were the articles most frequently bartered by the sailors of the Bittern for the fruit, coconuts, canoe models or other articles which the natives brought out to the ship in their canoes.

The native villages are replete with interest, and if the visitor desires photographs it is not difficult to secure groups to pose for him. The best ordered of these villages, and the one showing the greatest degree of prosperity, is that of Tomil, on the eastern shore of the harbor. This village is governed by King Tamolin, a native of much ability, who enjoys the distinction of having been O'Keefe's first mate on the Santa Cruz. His breast is tattooed with the flags of the different nations, the Stars and Stripes in greatest prominence, and he speaks English fluently and with distinction, though he must have found little enough opportunity to practice it in recent years. Mrs. Scott, O'Keefe's daughter, paid a high tribute to the fidelity and efficiency of King Tamolin, and she related of him a story which brings out strikingly the weak qualities which were so strangely joined to the stronger traits in her father. On one of his voyages O'Keefe's schooner was caught in a terrific typhoon, and as he saw no possibility of coming out alive, he ordered up all the liquor on board and drank himself and his crew into insensibility. Awakening from this stupor the following day and finding the ship intact, he called Tamolin and asked him what had happened.

The mate replied, "The ship was saved because with my men I did not drink with you, and we worked the ship through the typhoon."

IMPROVEMENTS BY GERMANS

During their occupancy of the islands the Germans carried out extensive public works. An excellent road was built entirely around the island and a canal was dug across a narrow isthmus so as to extend Tomil Harbor and divide the eastern part of the island from the western. This canal permits the passage of canoes from Colony, the port village, to the northern Islands of Map and Rumong. A wireless station, which had been built by the Germans for communication with the other islands in the Caroline group and by relays with the outside world, is another important service which the Germans have to their credit. With the outbreak of the World War a British fleet appeared at Yap and by bombardment destroyed the wireless plant to sever the island's connection with the outside world. The concrete bases for the wireless masts are all that now remain of the German plant at Yap, but a new one has been erected at a different point by the Japanese Government.

The German warship Planet, noted as the surveying vessel which sounded the greatest depth of the ocean—the so-called "Planet Deep" east of the Philippine Islands—was anchored in the harbor when the British fleet appeared in the offing. She was sunk by her Captain to avoid capture, but was later salvaged by the Japanese when they came into possession of the islands.

Owing to O'Keefe's powerful influence, the natives of the island are extremely friendly to Americans. Members of our party were always warmly welcomed in the villages, and King Tamolin expressed to us his regret that so many of his people were away from the village at the time we called. If we would come

again he would see that every one was at home and would make holiday with dancing in our honor. We sailed away on the Bittern loaded with presents of fruit, with chickens and a fat pig for our larder. We have retained a most friendly feeling for the native islanders, as we have for the Japanese officials, who did

everything in their power to promote the geological investigation which was the purpose of my visit. The Japanese Civil Governor was seriously ill, but he got up from his bed in order to receive us and made every provision possible by guides, canoes and natives for rendering access to the places I desired to visit.

PACIFIC CABLES AND THE ARMS CONFERENCE

THE inadequacy of communication between the United States and the Far East was emphasized by the difficulties encountered by the Chinese and Japanese in relaying news of the arms conference to their home lands. Thirteen cables connect the United States with Europe; only one with the Orient, and that one cable is often out of order for long periods, and is wholly inadequate to handle any large volume of news such as that emanating from the conference.

The seriousness of the situation was pointed out recently by V. S. McClatchy, editor of *The Sacramento Bee*, in an article in *The Editor and Publisher*. Besides the one cable, the only other means of communication is by wireless, and there is only one private radio firm to serve all the Pacific nations. The wireless facilities of the United States Navy have been given a limited extension to relieve the situation, but the results have shown how inadequate are all the communications taken together. Though Honolulu received promptly full reports of the opening of the Washington conference through navy wireless, China and Japan received some of the first day's proceedings four days late; and afterward the pressure on the inadequate facilities became so great that only very short special messages were sent by cable and by privately-owned radio at "urgent rate" (over \$3 a word).

One consequence of these abridged messages was a grave misunderstanding as to what had actually been done by the conference powers. The danger of this was seen in China, where thousands rioted after a truncated message had announced that the Japanese and Chinese delegates would settle the Shantung controversy by direct negotiations. Had the message included the fact that these negotiations had been brought about by the good offices of Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour, this riot would probably not have occurred. Similarly the Japanese were left for days in the belief that only France had agreed to relinquish her Chinese leaseholds, the message having failed to state that the other chief nations had also made offers.

At present the navy radio remains the vital link in the news chain—all too weak—bridging the United States and the Orient. If that link breaks, the situation must inevitably become worse. Congress granted the navy authority to use its wireless facilities for news transmission over the Pacific at a low word rate, in June, 1900. That authority will expire June 5, 1922. Only the navy service has made possible the sending of regular daily reports under normal conditions. The sentiment in Congress regarding such a renewal has not yet been definitely gauged.

CURING LEPROSY IN HAWAII

BY WILLIAM R. COMINGS
of Honolulu

Triumph of science over one of the most ancient and terrible of diseases—Lepers at Kalihi recovering steadily under the new treatment—No more sent to Molokai in the last three years

TECHNICAL science is again justifying its claim as man's most valued servant and also his most effective physician. Leprosy, the loathsome terror of the Orient, antedating all history, found in all lands, is slowly giving way to the combined efforts of skilled chemists and physicians of the Hawaiian Islands. The essential facts in this great victory are brief, but not lacking in vital interest.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica is authority for the supposition that leprosy originated in the thickly populated regions of the lower Nile and was presumably caused by the eating of great quantities of raw fish, sometimes putrid. Be that as it may, the disease was certainly endemic among the Children of Israel when they left that pest-ridden land and began their wanderings in the wilderness. The Books of Moses give us our first familiar accounts of it and of the attempted system of cure and purification. No less than 4,000 words in Leviticus xiii. and xvi. are used to describe the details of procedure. The extremely sacerdotal rites had a few elements of sanity in them—pure running water was required for cleansing, while those not afflicted were enjoined to sleep not in a bed in which a leper had slept, to sit not in a chair in which a leper had sat, and to avoid those who wore the habiliments of the outcast. The whole ceremonial, however, manifests the

stamp of long-established Egyptian custom and priestly officiousness. No more pathetic cry has rung its way down the ages than that of the homeless Hebrew, "Unclean! unclean!"

ISOLATION CAMP AT MOLOKAI

No large country is now or ever has been free from the taint of leprosy. The Caucasian race is relatively free, but during the Crusades and for centuries afterward all Europe was afflicted and every city had its place of segregation. It was not till the seventeenth century that Britain, Scandinavia and the countries of Central Europe could boast a practical elimination of the disease. It is today not uncommon in South America; China and Japan have their villages for segregation of the afflicted; and one who is familiar with the facts states that there are more than a thousand cases of it in the United States, exclusive of Hawaii. Because of its comparative rarity it may often escape recognition. But in its early stages it is insidious and is easily overlooked by those who do not understand its peculiar manifestations. Even reputable physicians in Honolulu, with a leper hospital near them, have treated those having the disease for something entirely different.

The native Hawaiians are said to have been entirely free from leprosy until sailors and workers from the Orient appeared and lived among them. The old-time sex communism

of the race gave it free scope and it became a scourge. In 1866 the Government set off a peninsula on the Island of Molokai as an isolation camp, and it is still used for that purpose. The site was well chosen. It is a fertile and beautiful tract, separated from the rest of the island by an insurmountable wall of volcanic rock. Everything possible was done by the Hawaiian monarchy to make the hopeless victims comfortable. Since the islands became a territory of the United States in 1898 interest and care have not slackened.

The village, with a thousand inhabitants at times, is pleasant and homelike. There are schools, movies, churches, baseball, basketball, tennis, billiards, croquet, political meetings, a good string orchestra, dances, dramatics, and occasionally entertainments and lectures provided by people from Honolulu and other cities. In most ways life is normal; there are gardens, flowers, fruits, shrubs, ordinary occupations and something of family life. There is a Boys' Home under the personal care of Brother Joseph Dutton, who has been a faithful friend and nurse for forty years. During that time he has not left the camp, though at liberty to do so, as he is not a leper. He has never seen a railroad or an automobile. In his devotion he has fallen heir to the good work of Father Damien, who died of the disease. There is a Girls' Home in care of the Sisters, some of whom would never have gone there but for their devotion to suffering humanity.

The few visitors allowed are admonished not to shake hands, not to sit in a chair, nor rest on a couch, nor lean on a table. Often the precaution is taken of changing clothing on leaving the boat. Officials say that with proper care and sanitation there is little danger. Perfect health and an unbroken skin are elements of safety, but sterilization is the never-to-be neglected safeguard of the physician and nurse. The disease is communicable rather than contagious.

On all the islands there is constant

watchfulness on the part of Boards of Health, and every suspected case is tested for bacterial germs. The slightest evidence calls for immediate isolation. New cases, however, are so infrequent that there is little more public concern about danger from this disease than from tuberculosis. A few years ago a writer in a popular magazine asserted that the disease permeated all society, that school teachers habitually wore gloves in school for fear of contamination. A pure fabrication. It never was true when the disease was at its worst. Life goes on in Hawaii precisely as it does in New Orleans or New York.

The new treatment, however, is hailed with joy, especially on the part of the native Hawaiians. They do not now as formerly hide their cases, but bring them instead to the proper officers for examination, seclusion and treatment.

DISCOVERING THE NEW CURE

Credit for initiating a revolutionary method of treatment is generally ascribed to Dr. Victor Heiser of the United States Public Health Service in the Philippines. Instead of giving raw chaulmoogra oil in doses, as had been the custom for centuries, he gave it by injection into the muscles. Mixed with olive oil and drugs, it was efficacious and helped all patients treated. The old method of taking the oil through the mouth, even in capsules, produced such violent nausea that very few could retain it. If retained, it was healing; the best remedy then known. The success of the Heiser treatment led physicians generally to adopt injections as the best method of giving the oil, but it was thick and not easily absorbed. This led Dr. Harry T. Hollman, a member of the Government Medical Corps at Honolulu, to call for a more diluted form of the oil, one freed from extraneous matter, an ethyl ester, or the vital principle, if there was one. The decomposition of the

oil, he said, should be accomplished outside the body.

After securing the approval of his superiors, Drs. McCoy and Currie, he asked the Chemistry Department of the University of Hawaii to liberate this essence from the vegetable compound. President Dean, himself an expert chemist, became greatly interested. He assigned to the task Miss Alice Ball, a young negro woman and an expert chemist, who found the task exceedingly elusive. She gave it all her time and secured a light essence, which Dr. Hollman administered with improved results; but he still insisted it could be improved. Miss Ball's health failed, possibly from chemical poisoning, and she went to California to recuperate. On her return she again took up the task, aided by Dr. Dean, but was again forced to give up the work entirely and soon afterward died in California.

President Dean then entered upon the task with redoubled enthusiasm. He was encouraged from results obtained to give every possible aid to the indomitable and optimistic Dr. Hollman. There were months of persistent effort, the devising of expensive and complicated apparatus, including a special furnace for intense heat. At last the precise ethyl ester desired—with a number of others—was secured. Injections were made as before into the hips of patients—the large muscles were selected to avoid any possible introduction of the medicine into the large veins or arteries. The improvement following in every case was so marked as to cause surprise and decided gratification.

It was not long till several cases were pronounced cured and discharged. But some of those sent away had a recurrence of symptoms and were brought back for further treatment. Years of experimenting since then have convinced Dr. Hollman and his co-workers that a complete cure is a slow process. Germs lie hidden somewhere in the system that wait for some possibly abnormal condition—alcoholic intoxication, perhaps—to

become active again. The rule now followed is to parole, and then only when no bacilli can be found in the blood taken from any portion of the body, and to continue frequent examinations and occasional treatments for a period of two years.

THE PERFECTED TREATMENT.

The experimental work is carried on at Kalihi, an intermediate hospital established near Honolulu in 1865. There is not the air of hopelessness about this institution that is traditional at Molokai. With the success of the new treatment all are now waiting their time of parole, and they take the treatments with decided hope and faith. Injections are made weekly and to all patients. The event has assumed a holiday air; good cheer and raillery are encouraged by the doctors. This lessens the nervousness attending the physical pain of the operation and has a psychological effect also that is desired. So successful has the work been here that no new cases have been sent to Molokai for three years or more. The records show that 150 are now out on parole and going about the ordinary activities of life. Most of these are considered absolutely cured. In many cases not even the characteristic markings are visible.

Treatments upon the historical Molokai are also going on systematically. Few absolute cures there can be expected, but all treated are greatly improved, and many live in hope. Strange as it may seem, about half of the patients refuse to be treated. They are well cared for, are in congenial company and do not wish to face a cold and unsympathetic world. They could not hide their scars and deformities. The total now upon the island is 534, the number under treatment 350. It is hoped by people now living that they will see the complete elimination of this camp.

There is another interesting story, a sort of by-product. It was apparent some years ago that the supply of chaulmoogra seeds was all too small for future needs, and Professor J. F.

Rock, who was then in Southern Asia, was asked to secure seeds and learn something of the trees producing them. He found a small supply in the hands of curio dealers and exporters, but did not have time to find the trees, which, he learned, grew far inland. A year or so later, when in the employ of the United States Government, he made the very difficult personal search for the trees. No one in the towns could locate them, but from one village to another he made his way for hundreds of miles into and through the forests of Siam, Burmah and India. It was a soul-harrowing experience and called for no little fortitude and privation. He found the trees and several allied species. Had he not been a trained botanist and tree expert, he might have made the mistake that was made by some English searchers, who were satisfied with a similar tree and so have wasted years of time. For it was

his mission to get seeds for propagation as well as for direct use as medicine. It is impossible here to recount all his thrilling experiences, both with wild beasts and with natives. He sent enough seeds to Hawaii to meet present demands and to plant an allotment of a hundred acres, set apart for that purpose by the Hawaiian Legislature.

The Dean specific is in no sense proprietary. It is not obtainable for individual use. Hospital treatment and close observation are a necessity. It cannot be self-administered. The United States Treasury Department has issued a "Reprint from Health Reports, No. 607," prepared by Dr. J. T. MacDonald and President A. L. Dean, that gives detailed and technical information about the treatment as now administered in Hawaii. This and the oil are obtainable on application to the Public Health Service, Washington.

FRENCH OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE WAR

THE French Minister of War announced on Nov. 16, 1921, that a monumental history of France's part in the great conflict was being prepared by the historical section of the French Army Staff. The purpose, he said, was "to give to the public as rapidly as possible, in accordance with a plan scientifically conceived and executed, a narrative describing, (1) in its wide interpretations, the conduct of the war by the French High Command; (2) the main lines of the development of operations."

Work on this official history was begun in 1919. Voluminous Government records of all kinds had first to be carefully sorted out and classified for the five war years from an aggregate of 60,000 separate files;

the documentation desired to meet the objects set forth above had then to be extracted from this mass by study and analysis. To expedite this formidable task the war epoch was divided into periods, and the study of each period was assigned to a special section of writers. The work of each section will be published when completed, and when the whole series is done it will contain volumes on every great campaign and battle of the war, besides tables on the size of the French Army units and their history from mobilization to armistice. The Minister of War hopes that the volumes dealing with the first operations of 1914 will appear before the end of 1922—if the appropriations are granted by Parliament.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING: THE NEW EDUCATION

By HARRY L. FIDLER

Vice Chairman of the Federal Board for Vocational Education

How the national movement for Vocational Training arose, and how it developed—Agriculture, Trade, Industry and Home Economics taught practically—Vast extension of a new education

IT was in the United States Senate. The Sweet bill had come up from the House proposing the creation of a new Veterans' Bureau. The Finance Committee had steamed through a long night session, and it had tacked a score of amendments to the House measure. Among them appeared a clause abolishing an obscure department known as the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Without a thought of opposition, the amendments were announced to the press.

The announcement had hardly left the wires when a bombardment of protests fell on Washington. They came from Chambers of Commerce, colleges, women's clubs, churches, labor unions. They rained upon the Senators from every State in the union. Their tenor was unanimous. Pass the Sweet bill, by all means, but *strike out that clause abolishing the Federal Board for Vocational Education!* The Finance Committee had stirred up a hornets' nest. Of course, the Senate capitulated to the demand. The Sweet bill went gloriously through, but the Federal Board amendment was significantly missing.

This incident revealed the vast popular support which the Federal Board for Vocational Education had acquired. The board's work during the four years of its existence had been one of the silent and unheralded activities of the Government. Who could have suspected that so many minds were keenly following it, and

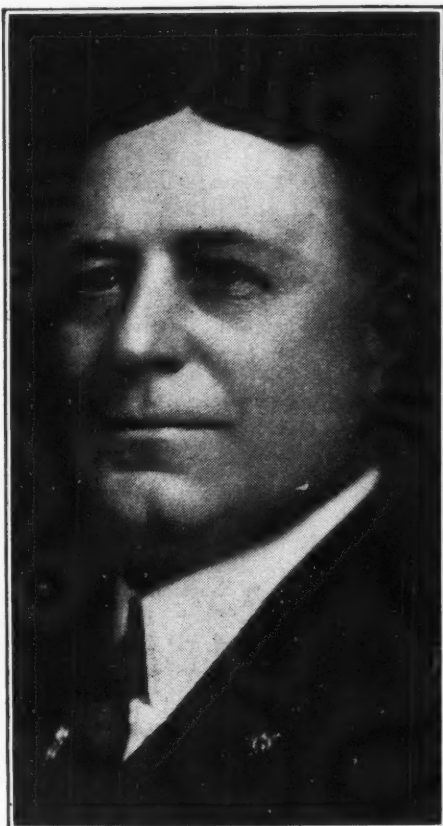
that such a nation-wide body of supporters was behind it? And yet there is a great school of men and women in America today who believe that the task which is being done by the Federal Board for Vocational Education is among the most momentous ever conceived by the nation; that it is pointing the way to the future of the race; that it is revolutionizing our educational concepts.

Even the meaning of vocational education is unknown to an incredibly large percentage of readers. Perhaps the simplest characterization of it would be education to earn a living. Vocational education sees the pupil as a prospective wage or salary worker, rather than as a prospective man of leisure. It would shape his studies around a practical employment objective, rather than, as now, around a general ideal of culture. It would reorganize our elementary educational system by adding full time and continuation vocational courses to the traditional curriculum of the "three R's." Thus it would teach the child to *do* things rather than merely to *know* things; and under such a system the pupil would find school a practical stepping-stone to the all-necessary job.

HOW THE MOVEMENT AROSE

The movement for such education first arose ten or fifteen years ago. It came out of the painful realization that our much-vaunted democratic

public school system was becoming neither democratic nor public. The original theory of the American public school was that equal opportunities should be accorded to every child. This worked in theory. Unfortunately, in practice, it developed that all children did not have equal opportunities to attend these schools. Statistics indicated that between 80 and 90 per cent. of public school pupils were forced by poverty to discontinue before or at the completion of the grammar grades. The costly apparatus of high schools and State universities which we had erected was available only to the 10 or 20 per cent. For the 80 or 90 per cent. not even an attempt at continuation education was provided; they were left adrift.



(© Harris & Ewing)

HARRY L. FIDLER

Vice Chairman of the Federal Board for
Vocational Education

But this was not all. Even the little education which the children of the poor could gain was inappropriate. Although the majority of grammar school pupils were destined for the factory, they were forced to spend their precious school years in courses preparing them for high school. Although the manifest need of such children was education which would make them successful wage earners, the industrial objective was completely overlooked by the public schools. Instead of individualizing instruction, according to the future needs of the pupils, our schools standardized instruction and took as the standard, not the majority but the minority. Here was a most patent wrong.

The realization of these unpleasant truths inspired the vocational movement. Already the schools had been toying with the industrial idea in the form of manual training. But manual training averaged only one and a half hours a week where employed; it was but a sop. The need was for schools with distinct vocational courses, followed by continuation courses after the child had gone to work.

These schools should aim to turn out pupils well-rounded mechanics. They should teach not mere mechanical dexterity. They should give their pupils what few mechanics possess today — craftsmanship. The boy should learn industry as a whole. He should study all the supplementary subjects technical to his chosen craft. He should learn the inter-relation of industrial processes. All of his textbooks and courses in general subjects as well should be prepared from the vocational slant and should contribute toward a psychology of craftsmanship in his mind.

The further argument for vocational education was supplied by the industrial situation itself. In previous periods young workers were trained into craftsmen by the apprentice system. They could get vocational education after they had "gone on the job." Unfortunately, the coming of the machine system virtually ended apprentice-



Typewriting class in one of the schools of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. Several one-armed veterans of the World War belong to this class.

ship. The working-class boy had now no place to which to look for industrial preparation but the public school. And what did the public school offer him?

There were years of agitation after the vocational movement arose. It was up-hill agitation. Educational traditionalism died hard. The defenders of classical education resented the intrusion of the employment objective into their pleasant world of theory, but the democratic logic of the vocation argument was too much for them. The labor unions, above all, contributed their strength to the fight. And so, at long last, cautiously and experimentally, school boards began to create continuation schools and amplify manual training courses. Results began to accumulate.

BACKED BY THE NATION

But it was necessary, above all, that the Federal Government itself be gotten behind the movement to give it official standing. This was accomplished by the Smith-Hughes act of Feb. 23, 1917. Congress not only endorsed the movement, but voted an

annual endowment to continue indefinitely. This endowment, graduated upward from \$1,655,586.72 for the first year to a maximum of \$7,367,000 to be attained in the year 1926 and continued thereafter, was to be expended by State Boards for Vocational Education which each State was called upon to appoint. It was to be given on condition that these State boards match it dollar for dollar. It was to be spent for instruction and teacher training in vocational education exclusively.

To allot these funds among the States a Federal Board for Vocational Education was created. A unique form of organization was instituted for this board. It was recognized that no scheme of vocational education would succeed without the cooperation of the three interested industrial elements—the manufacturers, labor and the farmers. And so the board was made tripartite, with each of these elements represented. The wisdom of the plan has been manifest from the first.

Dr. Prosser, the first Director of the board, described the method of administration as follows:

In the early stages of vocational education the Federal Government enters into a partnership with the State—the State being the resident partner on the ground and doing the actual work, and the Federal Government the non-resident partner, investing from time to time the necessary sums of money.

The funds which the non-resident partner invests, to continue the doctor's analogy, are safeguarded by the board's establishment of standards for schools receiving support, and a systematic inspection of the work of the State boards. In addition to this standardization, the Federal board supplies a national leadership to the whole national vocational movement by the holding of conferences and the continual routing of field agents through the States. In Washington, it also has established a system of research and investigation. It publishes vocational literature and it disseminates vocational data. Thus it

has integrated the whole vocational movement around itself. It has lifted vocational education from a theory and has made it an institution.

THE BOARD'S WAR WORK

But hardly was the Federal board in existence when it found itself swamped with extraneous war duties. On June 27, 1918, Congress enacted the Vocational Rehabilitation act and put upon the new board the task of rehabilitating the army of disabled veterans who were already pouring back from France. It provided that these veterans, when not completely disabled, should be given vocational education, under the direct administration of the board. The job was stupendous, and it is little wonder that the machinery of the board soon began to creak beneath the load.

Beginning with a virgin field,



(© Western Newspaper Union)

Convalescent soldiers learning to paint and draw in an improvised studio at a General Hospital

without precedent to guide them, and without schools or adequate teachers to turn to, the Federal board developed an organization of 2,200 schools, 4,000 trained teachers and 10,000 job placements. It prepared courses around 1,600 employment objectives. It registered 388,225 veterans and placed 108,036 in vocational training. It built up whole new universities. In this immense laboratory of trainees it accumulated vocational data and developed vocational technique which has advanced the whole science of industrial education by at least a generation. And, despite heart-breaking censure and misrepresentation, it did its job for three years; and did it so well that when finally the Veteran Division of the board was consolidated with the War Risk Bureau and the Public Health Division in a new Veterans' Bureau, Congress adopted the Federal board form to govern all three divisions.

This veteran work of the board has been the most discussed, although it was but a temporary duty. The most significant task, however, was yet to be added to the board. On June 20, 1920, Congress enacted the Industrial Rehabilitation act, and placed its administration in the hands of the board. Here was a task almost incalculable in its potentialities. The whole vast field of men and women disabled in industry now became potential beneficiaries of the board. The scope of the field can be imagined when we explain that every year more workers are injured in industry than the total number of the war wounded whom the board has registered up to date. While the original appropriation of Congress for industrial rehabilitation was small and experimental, this activity of the board is destined to grow cumulatively with the years until it eventually far overshadows the veteran rehabilitation task which has so filled the press. It is a bringing of educational therapeutics into the lives of multitudes who, otherwise, would be fatally marred. As such it is both an eco-

nomic and a highly humanitarian work.

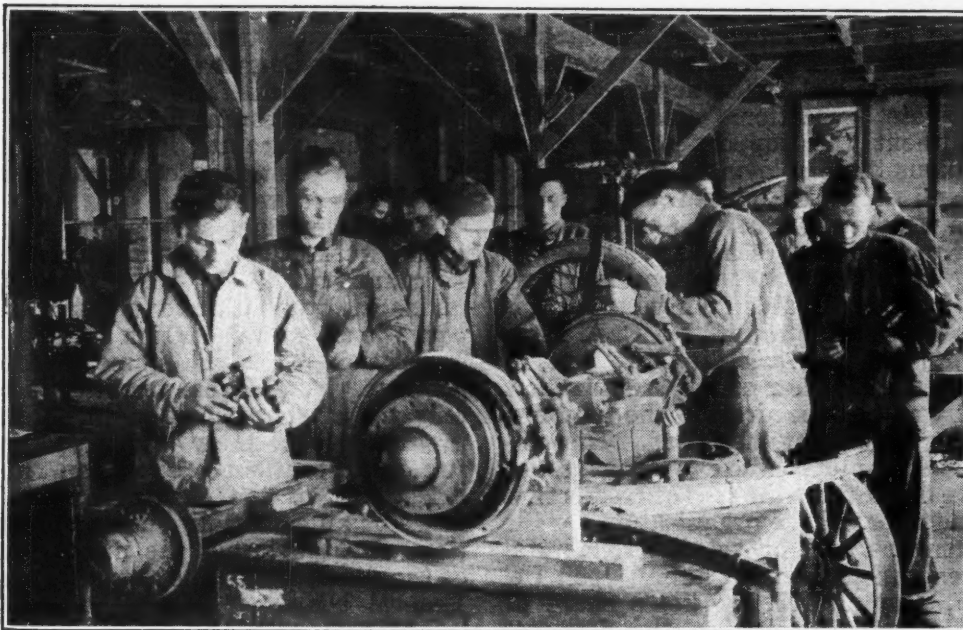
With the separation of the veteran work from the board under the Sweet act, there remains to it the two divisions of vocational education and industrial rehabilitation. The officials of the board welcome the change. Now their energies can be concentrated on an intensified campaign for vocational education proper.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Just what is the work done by the board in respect to vocational education? This work is divided into three fields—agricultural, trade and industrial, and home economics.

Agricultural instruction is always practical. It is given by three methods, destined to reach all groups of boys and men, in all-day schools for boys still in school; in short-course instruction for those already working on a farm, and in evening classes for older men who are practical farmers, but who wish to learn improved methods. The students operate actual farms under the supervision of their instructors, and are taught stock raising, soil culture, fruit cultivation, business and administration of farms, economics of the market, &c. The total net income from all these experimental farms for the year 1918-19—a total of \$832,487.60—demonstrates eloquently the success of this instruction.

The same division into three classes of schools also operates in trade and industrial instruction. In each community different trades are selected, according to the employment needs of the district. Continuation-school pupils, preparing for the machinist's trade, study in a miniature machine shop, handle tools and do actual machine tasks. In Ohio, for example, where the chief industries include iron and steel, machine and foundry establishments, automobile works, rubber factories, shipbuilding plants, garment-making and jewelry manufacturing, the classes in the public schools are organized around these



The automobile course is one of the most popular with the ex-soldiers and injured workmen in the rehabilitation schools of the Federal Board

objectives. Figures for the fiscal year 1919-20 were as follows: Twenty part-time trade extension centres, with thirty-five schools; four general continuation centres, with six schools; two all-day centres, with five schools; thirty evening class centres, with approximately 250 classes. The part-time trade extension classes enrolled 1,200 students; the general continuation schools 1,000; the all-day schools 150; the evening classes approximately 6,700. These figures are typical, and are borne out proportionately throughout the country. It may be added that the trade vocational instruction teaches the students to understand the whole industrial process, as well as their part of it, and has a broad cultural scope. It teaches elementary economics, civics, and does not neglect the principles of good citizenship.

Home economics is framed for girls to qualify them as homemakers. Cooking, homework and baby care are included. The instruction is all practical. That it is vitally necessary is proved by the census, which reveals

that 60 per cent. of girls eventually marry.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BOARD

Already the field which the board reaches is immense. During the year 1920 as many as 3,155 vocational schools received aid from the board. The enrollment of these schools was 265,143. This is the number which the board now benefits. With increased appropriations and increasingly efficient administrative machinery, this number should be multiplied again and again. Of course the full strength of the vocational work cannot be gauged from this figure, since much of the impetus of the movement has gone into private schools. The Federal funds are available only for the public schools. Though private schools have done magnificent pioneering in this task, it is felt that vocational education can realize its true magnitude only when it is a part of the public school system of the land. Not the least of the weaknesses of

private vocational schools is the fact that the labor unions, which staunchly support public school vocational training, look with suspicion upon private vocational undertakings. Without the support of the labor unions the employment future of the pupil might be doomed, even though he were trained in the most efficient of private trade schools.

The board has been specially fortunate in the able men whom it has enlisted to captain it. Dr. C. A. Prosser, the original director, can be called the father of the organization. It was he who drafted the administrative form of the board. His personality, during the early days, saved the board from the fate of mediocrity. He prepared the organization for the immense task of veteran rehabilitation which followed him. Upon Uel W. Lamkin fell the lion's share of that task. Assuming the directorship at a time of discouragement and criticism, he banished despair and disarmed criticism. When he resigned, he left behind him a splen-

didly ordered rehabilitation machinery which was transferred intact to the Veteran Bureau. The present administrative chief, Lewis H. Carris, has played a leading role in the organization since its inception, and enters his position exceptionally endowed for his work.

From this brief survey, the scope of the work of the Federal board can be glimpsed. Today we are merely laying the foundation for a vocational educational system which within a generation will reach immense proportions. Educational traditionalists only too often attempt to block our progress, but their attempts are futile. Vocational education has arisen out of the crying industrial needs of an essentially industrial nation. Behind it lies the momentum of the inevitable. The future of the Federal board, at this moment, is bright with promise. It has passed the ridge of experiment. Perhaps those enthusiasts are not wrong who acclaim it as one of the Government's most significant departments.

THE SENNAR DAM ON THE BLUE NILE

ON the banks of the Blue Nile, about 200 miles south of historic Khartoum, on the waters that come down from Abyssinia to Soudan, the British are building the largest dam in the world. Twenty thousand natives of the country are employed—men of every shade from deepest black to palest yellow, some garbed elaborately and picturesquely, the majority naked, or nearly so. Hundreds of them have crossed the Red Sea from Arabia, others have walked from Nigeria and the French Congo. All wear a knife strapped to the left arm, a charm containing a few lines from the Koran on their right. The scene, as described by a writer in *The London Telegraph*, has its grandeur: Vast machinery dumped down on the desert sands; cranes and railway trucks, giant canal cutters; a complete factory capable of producing 50,000 tons of cement a year.

The vastness of the undertaking is seen in the fact that over a million tons of granite will be used. All this granite is being

sliced off of Segadi Mountain, near at hand. Assouan has granite in superabundance, but it is too far away for transportation. In ancient days the point of view was different; the Egyptians and Greeks and other peoples of those days went to Assouan for their granite, and brought it hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles to build temples in Soudan, Egypt, Palestine and even far away Syria. Speed was not necessary. Like a hive of bees the army of modern workers run back and forth to satisfy the British desire for accomplishment.

When the mighty dam—3,330 meters long—is finished, some 300,000 acres of land—eventually 3,000,000 acres—now lying useless, will be brought under cotton cultivation in the Soudan, giving work to thousands, and producing within the British Empire much needed raw material for the mills of Lancashire. The cost is borne by the Soudan Government. A great undertaking, calculated to bring in a great return.

HOPE VERSUS DESPAIR IN CENTRAL EUROPE

BY CHARLES UPSON CLARK

An American educator's personal observations in Rumania, Transylvania and Austria—How the spirit of unity is slowly growing in Transylvania under Rumanian rule—Desperate straits of Viennese intellectuals

[WRITTEN IN THE LAST DAYS OF 1921]

I HAVE recently had an opportunity to study conditions in Central Europe—notably in Rumania and her newly acquired province, Transylvania, and in Austria. The situation in Rumania I found to be increasingly favorable. There is great satisfaction among the Rumanians over the final opening of the great bridge over the Danube at Cernavoda, which may be taken as evidence that the world's transportation is gradually returning to normal. Through trains are now running from Bucharest to Constantza, on the Black Sea, as before the war. An American firm had made a bid for the reconstruction of the bridge, which was destroyed by the Rumanians during the war to prevent its utilization by the Germans; they guaranteed to have it ready a year ago, and their price was reasonable; but for various reasons the contracts were awarded to a big steel firm in the Banat, which utilized two spans from another bridge similarly destroyed. At any rate, it is now possible to go by steamer from New York to Constantza, passing through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and at Constantza to take a through sleeper for Bucharest, where one has immediate connection by through sleeper with Budapest, Prague and Vienna.

Order seems to be returning also

in the Rumanian financial situation. The lei, which had fallen to about 6 centimes, has rebounded to 10. Minister Titulesco, in his recent trip to Paris, states that he has arranged to fund the Treasury notes, and that the French financial authorities are co-operating with him to prevent the reckless speculation in lei on the Paris Bourse which has so greatly contributed to make the situation worse. The Government seems also to be making an earnest effort to cut down the heavy expenses of its diplomatic and consular services abroad, which have to be paid for in francs or other expensive currency. One painful consequence is that many of the Rumanian students in Paris will have to come home. A curious result of the present financial situation is that the education of Central and Eastern European youth is inevitably thrown into German and Austrian hands. At Berlin, Leipsic or Vienna, boys whose parents are paid in lei or crowns or marks—and still more, liras—can live in comparative comfort. Thus, from purely material causes, if for no other, the German universities are forming the minds of the new generation. It is a great pity that we Americans do not take the step, which would be welcomed by all Rumanians, of inaugurating an exchange of professors and students with Rumanian universities. Rumania is the land of

the future in Southeastern Europe—a land of unbelievable wealth and boundless possibilities. They want us to know them; their universities are as veritably homes of learning as our own; and any American professor or student who goes there will have an illuminating experience.

TRANSYLVANIA OF TODAY

We have heard in the United States and England many stories of the hard fate of the Transylvanian Hungarians, whom the Treaty of Trianon has placed under Rumanian rule. There has now been time for both Rumanians and Hungarians to lay aside the bitter feelings of the first few months; and in talking with eminent representatives of both sides, I am glad to note a great advance over the strained relations which I found in 1919. All Transylvanians, whether Rumanian, Hungarian, German or Szekler, are out of patience with the Central Government at Bucharest, which they feel pays too little attention to Transylvania's needs, and their grievances, in many cases identical, are bringing them together. It will not be long before these Hungarians will be primarily Transylvanians rather than Magyars, at least so far as the younger generation is concerned; their elders, I fear, will never be reconciled to separation from Budapest.

It is hard for us, so tolerant in matters of language and religion, to appreciate the situation which prevails in all the sundered members of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Here was Transylvania, a compact little country of over two and a half million inhabitants, with half a dozen different religious confessions (and that counts far more there than with us) and three important languages—German, Hungarian and Rumanian, the latter being spoken by over half the population as their mother-tongue. Since 1867, this territory had been Hungarian. Most of the land belonged to great Hungarian nobles—the Bethlens, Banffys, Telekis, &c., or to

the various churches; nine-tenths of the Rumanian population were peasantry, and few of them owned any land. The Hungarian Government made every effort to impose its language on everybody. I remember how perplexed I was, as a student in Europe twenty-five years ago, to discover labels only in Hungarian in the museums of Budapest, and to find that I was expected to know what was meant by "konyvtar," "egyetem," "urak" and similar linguistic puzzles. If the language were only like some other culture-tongue, one would not object; but it comes from the Asiatic steppes, and one who knows French, German and Italian stands helpless before a door labeled "iroda."

And the Hungarian officials went too far in their efforts to make everybody talk Hungarian. I have a Rumanian-Transylvanian friend who speaks perfect Hungarian, a native of a town where there are about 5,000 Rumanians and less than a hundred Hungarians. The ticket agent at the station, a Hungarian official, spoke good Rumanian—indeed, had to, since most of the townspeople had no knowledge of Hungarian, German being the other colloquial language of that section. One day this friend of mine asked for a railroad ticket in Rumanian; the station agent, knowing that he spoke Hungarian, told him to ask for the ticket in Hungarian; he refused; they would not sell him a ticket and reported him to the police, who arrested him and fined him 200 crowns for an act dangerous to the supremacy of the State! There were many Rumanian students in the university of Kolozvar; but they might not speak even to each other in their native tongue on the university grounds, since there was a by-law expressly forbidding the use of Rumanian, except in the classroom of Rumanian language and literature (taught, by the way, by a Magyarized Rumanian who fled to Budapest when Transylvania became Rumanian). These examples may serve to give an idea of the general Magyar attitude

emphasized by their ownership of the land and consciousness of superiority—a superiority especially irksome to the Germans, who had been in Transylvania since the twelve hundreds, and who considered themselves quite equal to the Magyars. It must also be stated that the Magyars had a bone to pick with the Germans, since under the Austrians—1848-1867—German had been the official language, and the Hungarians felt they had been persecuted by the Austrians and Germans.

It was, therefore, quite a mess which the war found in Transylvania; and, as usual, the war did not improve matters. The Rumanian advance into Transylvania uncovered a great deal of sympathy with the invaders; and when they were driven out the Hungarian Government made it practically impossible for any Rumanian to buy land, and began a great colonizing scheme, like the Prussians in Silesia. The Russian revolution forced them to give more Rumanians the vote; but they arranged a literacy test which would disfranchise most of them.

RUMANIA'S TOLERANCE

Then came the collapse of October, 1918, and the first great mistake of the Transylvanian Hungarians, the evil consequences of which they have only lately realized. Instead of remaining at their posts—I speak particularly of the civil, administrative and school officials—and taking the oath to support the new Government, a large proportion of them refused and left for Budapest in the expectation that the Peace Conference could not possibly leave Kolozsvár, Arad, Grosswardein and Temeshvár to Rumania, and that they would return in triumph after only a few months. Had they all stayed, as some did, and found that the Rumanian Government, with its dearth of a trained official class and of teachers, must necessarily keep them on (as it has done with almost all those who did remain), they would have formed a compact political mass, and would

probably long since have forced the Bucharest politicians to give Transylvania the special attention she needs. They expected that the Rumanian Government would be as intolerant of them as they had been of the Rumanians.

But the Rumanian is singularly tolerant by nature. I have been in all the Succession States since the war; and, with the possible exception of Italy, I think the minorities are nowhere so well treated—and surprisingly well treated—as in Rumania. I have had experiences which I think could happen only in Rumania. In a Hungarian book store in a city not far from Cluj I found exposed for sale, and mailed to friends in America, picture post cards with Hungarian captions of the Emperor Karl and of Kaiser Wilhelm—and this in November, 1921! When I told this to a Hungarian Protestant Bishop, he remarked politely that he would not have believed it possible. It was clear he did not believe it at all. This same Bishop told me that every Government statement or proclamation was made solely in Rumanian, while I had been especially struck by the bilingual character (both Rumanian and Hungarian) of all the posters and door designations in the Post Office, the Prefecture and other Government buildings in Cluj. The truth was that the good Bishop, who goes around very little, had generalized from the fact that the Government proclamations and publications sent directly from Bucharest are exclusively in the State language, Rumanian, as those from Budapest in the old days were purely in Hungarian.

A still more striking experience was one I had in a Hungarian Roman Catholic parochial school in one of the "Saxon" (German) cities of Transylvania. There I found the children reading aloud from readers of 1908 which sang the glories of the Hungarian State, of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of the Kaiser Francis Joseph, and of the Magyar race. I did not need to have the selections

translated; the illustrations were enough. We are a tolerant people; if we had been struggling with the Germans for a thousand years and finally beaten them, should we allow Milwaukee German schools to continue using readers glorifying the Hohenzollerns? I wonder!

UNIVERSITY OF KOLOZSVAR

With the University of Kolozsvar, the Rumanians were in a puzzling position. They were willing to let the Hungarian Faculty stay on, if they would take the oath of allegiance; but not only did the Hungarian rector and professors refuse to do this, but even in the Spring of 1919 they insisted that all graduates should take the oath of allegiance to the Hungarian Republic! The Rumanian authorities spent two months arguing and corresponding with them on the matter; but as the rector refused to yield, they finally had to close the university, which they reopened as a Rumanian institution. It has now 2,500 students; among them are some Hungarians who speak Rumanian only very brokenly, and they are allowed to use Hungarian in their answers, if the professor understands that language. I met fifteen or twenty of the Faculty, all men who had studied in France or Germany, and who in most cases spoke at least three languages fluently.

Transylvania had an extensive system of schools run by one or another religious denomination. These have little difficulty if their Principals and Faculty have taken the oath of allegiance; but the Hungarian Calvinist, Roman Catholic, and particularly the Unitarian teachers, were very slow to do this, while the German Lutherans (who had had their own troubles with the Hungarians) came over at once, and have constantly been on good terms with the Government; the Principal of the German gymnasium (high school), at Bistritz, told me he was not interfered with in any way by the Rumanians. On the other hand, what the Rumanians considered the ob-

duracy of the Calvinists and the Unitarians led to severe and even unjust measures against them; some forty-five of the Calvinist pastors were imprisoned for terms aggregating forty years, and in several cases were released without ever learning what the charges against them were, while one Unitarian professor of theology was put through the third degree by the secret police, to learn details of a plot of which he claims to know nothing, and bears the scars of this experience on his person today. Undoubtedly there were plots against the Rumanian authorities, and one at least of these pastors has been found guilty; but every good Rumanian I know hangs his head when I refer to those arbitrary acts of the Sigurantza—the secret police—and execrates his country's politicians, who have allowed such things to be.

It is a pleasure to turn from this blot on the Rumanian 'scutcheon and look at the record of the University Librarian. Kolozsvar had one of the finest libraries and most beautifully and thoughtfully appointed library buildings in the world, the creation of its librarian, Dr. Farkas Gyalui, a Hungarian of Jewish parentage. He had been twenty-five years in the library's service when the war broke out; and when the crash came, and orders came for Kolozsvar to be evacuated, the commanding general put fifty freight cars at his disposal to carry his treasures to Budapest. "I simply could not divide or leave my library," he said, "whereupon the General told me: 'You will answer with your head for this if anything happens to the library.'" He stayed; the Rumanians took over the library, with Dr. Gyalui as librarian; and it is today the best arranged and most usable library in Rumania.

Rumanian rule has brought thousands of officeholders, army officers, bank clerks and other Rumanians to Cluj, so that, of the city's 105,000 inhabitants, 40 per cent. are now said to be Rumanian. The Rumanian Government has installed an excellent opera company in the Hungarian

National Theatre. I saw admirable renderings of "Faust" and "Samson and Delilah," and heard wonderful piano playing by Achron, the young Bessarabian Jew who has taken Rumania by storm. The city is frightfully crowded; rooms have had to be commandeered on a large scale, as in Budapest, Vienna and Frankfort, to take only a few examples; but, except for the sudden blossoming forth of Rumanian store signs beside the Hungarian, the city has not changed much in appearance. King Mathias Corvinus still stands triumphant in bronze on the public square; his name is now written in Rumanian, not Hungarian, and the Hungarian crown and coat of arms have been removed, to be replaced by his family's shield; but one of the conquered Princes who does obeisance before him still lowers the Moldavian flag! Not far away stands a new statue, the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, a gift of the City of Rome to express Italian congratulations on the reincorporation of Transylvania into Rumania, a Latin State like Italy.

VIENNA AFTER THE RIOTS

"You don't mean to say you are going to Vienna in times like these?" was the question I heard on every side in Bucharest; and even in Budapest, a few hours' run away, I was advised not to think of staying in the city over night; indeed, several people had heard that all hotels and restaurants were closed. Only the day before there had been no telephone or telegraphic communication with Vienna. But when I took a carriage (1,000 crowns, about 15 cents) uptown from the station, and saw the people going to their work as usual, and the stores, hotels and restaurants bravely carrying on business behind the barricades of planks which replaced the smashed plate glass, the city made on me the impression of a repentant child who has been breaking up his toys in a fit of passion and is now trying to be good again.

Many of the episodes of the rioting

of Dec. 1, 1921, were really childish and amusing. The mob of fifty or sixty persons, for instance, who broke into Sir William Goode's apartments in the Bristol lost no time in appropriating his personal effects; one man promptly disrobed in the bedroom, put on a suit of Sir William's, and did not bother to carry off his own. To be sure, one rioter did throw a telephone at Sir William's head, and another a pair of boots; nevertheless, he had the general impression, he said, that they were good-natured people, who were simply carried off their feet by excitement and poverty. And his diagnosis seems to be correct.

A parade of several thousand workmen, demonstrating against the recent enormous rise in prices—during November most prices more than doubled, and some rose to four or five times those of last Summer, while wages and salaries lagged behind—was joined by agitators and Communists; and the patent, not to say blatant, luxury of the great cafes and shops gave them their text. It was a wild and terrific outburst, while it lasted; but the Government got the situation in hand after a few hours, and hundreds of the rioters were sent to jail. Meanwhile, the glass factories of Czechoslovakia were doing a thriving business, and the plate-glass insurance companies were in despair.

The casual visitor to Vienna and the thousands of buyers from more fortunate countries who spend weeks or months there do not come to know the real Vienna. I took a Viennese newspaper friend out to lunch in a leading restaurant. He looked carefully around the crowded room, and then said: "In the old days, there would have been only a few foreigners here; today, I do not see a single Viennese. In fact, in our largest and most fashionable cafes and restaurants, the only Viennese you will see are the waiters. These are all people like yourself, who have dollars or pounds or francs or lire—we are overrun with Italians, who

are buying everything we possess—or even Czechoslovak or Hungarian crowns, which are worth so much more than ours. We can no longer afford to go into a good restaurant. My salary—and I am well paid—is about the equivalent of \$12 a month; and most of the newspaper men of Vienna are getting about \$5." He said this without bitterness; and a university professor who received me later in the day in an unheated room—and the Summer suit he wore was patently his only suit—had the same grave calm in discussing the desperate condition of the brain-workers of Vienna.

PLIGHT OF INTELLECTUALS

Vienna's intellectuals see no hope, no way of escape; they have given up any expectation of aid. Something is being done by a local organization—the Verein der Wirthschaftsverbände geistiger Arbeiter (Union of Economic Associations of Brain-Workers); but they stand aghast at present before the approaching withdrawal of the Government subsidies which have kept down the price of bread. A loaf of bread now costs 74 crowns in Vienna, thanks to this subsidy (which, by the way, is the chief cause of the tremendous Austrian deficit); it is true that 74 crowns is only about one cent in American currency; but to a Viennese brain-worker, getting, say, 1,000 crowns a day, it is one-thirteenth of his income for a loaf of bread a day. What proportion of our daily income does a loaf of bread make? How much do we think about it? Some of us have to look out for carfares; in Vienna, a city of magnificent distances, the trolley-fare is 30 crowns; 3 per cent. of such an income. My cabman charged me a thousand crowns for the trip to the station; a whole day's income gone for one carriage ride! A pair of indifferent shoes—twelve or fifteen thousand crowns; a suit of clothes—seventy-five or a hundred thousand crowns. How does a professor or an editor or

a doctor or a lawyer feed and clothe his family?

Thanks to the Hoover organization and similar agencies, we are helping somewhat; but a recent school examination in a Vienna suburb showed that about 70 per cent. of the children are undernourished. And the people who are suffering are just those who made the charm of Vienna in the past—the artists, writers, musicians, teachers. Not long ago, they presented a dignified memorial in which they asked, not for money or for aid, but that they might somehow be given means to purchase clothes and food at cost price—and this memorial was signed by twenty-two members of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, the names of three or four of whom are well known to most of us!

Nor are the working people, who have been comparatively well off till the recent rise in prices, any less anxious about the outlook. Vienna is truly in a dreadful dilemma. Austria's Finance Minister has announced that the bread subsidies will be abolished the first of the year, and the price of bread will rise to its natural level. The manufacturers, bankers, &c., have promised to carry the burden of the increased bread cost for their employes by a corresponding rise in wages; but this aid will be only for a few months, and will not affect the brain-workers who are dependent on their own efforts.

And what do these brain-workers ask of Americans? Everywhere I meet the same request: "If only your people would send us books, magazines, serious reviews—for your prices are such that we cannot afford to get even newspapers." All over Central Europe college professors, newspaper men, cultivated people in general, would like to get our discarded weeklies and monthlies, our spare books. The Rockefeller Foundation is doing a splendid work in helping the medical schools of these countries to get books at the old rate of exchange. Much more could be

done if friends of learning could combine to help keep up culture over here—for it will perish without aid. The Vienna Academy of Sciences, for instance, has a number of valuable scientific and technical monographs on hand in manuscript, accepted for publication, which cannot be brought out, for the printers want 30,000 crowns for a sixteen-page brochure, in 700 copies, and are shortly going to raise prices 60 per cent.!

Every way you turn in Vienna, you meet a new problem. There is an excess of government employes; how could it be otherwise? Vienna was the headquarters for the Government of an empire of 50,000,000 people; when this empire was cut up, a large share of these employes left to join the administrations of the new States; but a larger number remained or came back from the new States, and were without employment. They could not be left to starve, so places

were found for them. As a result, the Ministry of Railways, which before the war had 728 officials in its building at Vienna for a railroad mileage of 23,000 kilometers (14,000 miles), now has over a thousand for a system of only 5,900 kilometers.

Every one now realizes that the day for such charity is over; that only strict economy and immense sacrifices can convince foreign bankers that the Austrian torso is a safe risk. The first step is being taken with the cancellation of the bread subsidy. Will the cheerful, kindly Viennese have not merely the strength of mind but the physical force necessary for the privations that must ensue? Or will the despair, of which we have already had one example, seize the whole population, and Vienna's stately temples come crashing down upon her children? Time presses. If aid does not arrive soon, a cataclysm must ensue like that of Russia—and it will strike us all.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

THE third session of the International Labor Conference, which opened on Oct. 25 and closed on Nov. 19, 1921, was declared by Lord Burnham, the President, to have been a triumphant success. The conference—created by the Treaty of Versailles—adopted seven international conventions and eight recommendations, as follows:

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

1. *Weekly Rest Day in Industry*—A general rule is prescribed of one day's rest in seven.
2. *White Lead in Painting*—The prohibition of the use of white lead in interior painting (with some few exceptions) and the regulation of its use in exterior painting, is laid down.
3. *Agricultural Workers*—The right of industrial combination is authorized.
4. *Agriculture and Children*—No child under 14 to be employed during compulsory school hours.
5. *Agricultural Workers' Compensation*—Compensation laws at present applying to industrial workers to be extended to agricultural workers.
6. *Juvenile Employment at Sea*—Persons under 18 years of age are not to be employed as trimmers and stokers in ships.
7. *Medical Examination of Young Persons*—Compulsory regular medical examination of

persons under 18 years of age employed in ships is to be instituted.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Women employed in agriculture shall be entitled to nine hours' rest, if possible consecutive.
2. Children under 14 to have ten hours' consecutive rest; persons between 14 and 18 to have nine hours' consecutive rest.
3. Maternity protection, in the form of a guarantee of a period of absence from work, before and after child-birth, to be extended to women agricultural workers.
4. Measures are recommended for the improvement of living in conditions of agricultural workers.
5. A series of measures for dealing with agricultural unemployment is suggested.
6. That social insurance laws applying to industrial workers should be extended to agricultural workers.
7. Governments are recommended to develop technical education as much for agricultural workers as for others.
8. For commercial establishments, a weekly rest day is recommended as a general rule.

A resolution was adopted asking the International Labor Office to "institute a special inquiry into the international aspect of the unemployment crisis, and the means of combating it."

SAVING FORTY THOUSAND ARMENIANS

BY DUDLEY S. NORTHCOTE

Late Administrator of Armenian Area, Refugee Camp, Nahr-Umar, Mesopotamia

One bright chapter in the tragic history of the passing of Armenia—How the British housed and fed thousands of refugees in Mesopotamia for three years—Sending them to the Caucasus

BEFORE the war the Armenian subjects of Turkey were for the most part domiciled in different parts of Asia Minor, some being in or near Constantinople, some in Cilicia, others around Erzerum, Bitlis, Diarbekr, &c. They were thus spread over the whole of Asia Minor, but at the same time they clustered more thickly in the eastern districts. One of their chief centres used to be the region of Lake Van, in the north-eastern corner of Turkey, not far from Persia, which lies due east of it, or from Russian Transcaucasia, which is due north. The City of Van is situated on the southern shores of the lake. The country all around is very high and mountainous.

Before the war the population of Van City was partly Turkish and partly Armenian. The villages south and east of the lake were either Kurdish or Armenian. In many cases half the inhabitants of a village would belong to the one, and the remainder to the other race. In the early part of 1915 the Russians invaded Northeastern Turkey, and soon succeeded in occupying Van. The Armenians promptly threw in their lot with the Russians, and were recognized by them as allies and co-belligerents. Battalions of Armenians were formed and placed in the Russian Army.

In 1917, after the revolution, the Russian armies in the Caucasus, as elsewhere, began to disintegrate and

melt away. Soon the Van Armenians found themselves facing the Turks alone. It must be remembered that in those days they were completely cut off from the Allies, as the British Army had not as yet captured Mosul, or even moved very far beyond Bagdad. The Armenians, however, did not surrender, but still attempted to hold their own against the Turks. In this they were greatly encouraged by the attitude of the Allies, and especially of the British Government. They were invited by the latter to hold out, and a picked force of officers and non-commissioned officers, known as the Dunster Force, was formed at Bagdad with a view to getting through to the Caucasus via Persia, and organizing there an army to be recruited from the Armenians and other pro-Ally elements that still existed in those regions. Unfortunately, however, the difficulties in the way were too great. A great part of the Dunster Force did not succeed in getting through to any part of the Caucasus, and none ever went to Van.

The Van Armenians were, however, joined by the Assyrians. These latter are a Semitic race. They possess a language and alphabet somewhat akin to Arabic. They are Christians, and inhabit some very difficult and mountainous country between Mosul and Van. They are divided into tribes, each with its local chief or *malik*, but all acknowledge the Patriarch, or *Mar Shimun*, as

their supreme national leader.* The Assyrians had also thrown in their lot with the Allies, and, after having made a gallant fight, had been driven northward into Van. There they joined hands with the Armenians.

Early in 1918 the Turkish regular army attacked these Armenian and Assyrian peasants. The Turks had artillery and highly trained and educated officers to lead them. The Armenians and Assyrians had none of these advantages. They were driven out of Van, and retreated due eastward, taking with them their wives and families, and such of their belongings as they could carry. They were soon driven over the frontier into Persia, whither the Turks followed them. They made a stand near a town called Dilman, and claim to have repulsed the Turks once there, but, on being attacked again, were compelled to retire southward.

During their retreat southward, they passed through the district around Lake Urmiah, a large lake lying in the northern corner of Persia, nearly due east of Lake Van. A large number of Christians used to live in this district, some of whom were Armenians, but most of whom were Assyrians, the descendants of some of the *Mar Shimun's* followers who had migrated from their native mountains to the fertile plain of Urmiah. The Turkish Army, in pursuit of the Van Armenians and mountaineer Assyrians, began to harass these Urmian Assyrians and to lay waste their villages, thus giving these unhappy people no other alternative than to join the other refugees in their retreat southward toward Mesopotamia.

BRITISH TO THE RESCUE

By this time the British Army had occupied the greater portion of Mesopotamia, as well as a large part of Persia. There were British officers and non-commissioned officers belonging to the Dunster Force at Ham-

adan. It was recognized that, as most of these refugees had been reduced to their sad plight by their faithfulness to the allied cause, something should be done to help them.

The refugees were met, therefore, near Hamadan by British officers and men. Preparations were made for the establishment of a large camp near Bakubah, a small town on the Dialah River, about thirty miles from Bagdad, with which it is connected by a railway constructed during the war. A series of marching posts was formed between Hamadan and Bakubah; at each was stationed a British officer, whose duty it was to purchase as much food as possible from the local Persians, ration successive parties of refugees and pass them on to the next post.

The first batches of refugees began to arrive at Bakubah in the first week of September, 1918. They came in parties of 1,000 or 2,000, partly by road and partly by train, from Kuraitu, all through September and the first half of October, until about 40,000 had been received in all. They were in a deplorable condition and had had to abandon many of their number along the road because of weakness and starvation. Many of them were suffering from dysentery, typhus and relapsing fever, and there was a certain amount of smallpox among the children. As each batch of refugees arrived, it was first of all placed in a segregation camp with barbed wire around it. Those who had infectious diseases were immediately sorted out and sent to hospitals. The remainder were disinfected thoroughly, their clothes being passed through a steam thrasher in order to kill all disease germs. They were then passed out of the segregation camp.

While a portion of the British personnel in the camp were seeing to the disinfection of the newly arrived refugees, the remainder were occupied in organizing them after their disinfection. The camp was placed in charge of a Brigadier General, assisted by a headquarters staff of six oth-

* "Mar" is the word for Lord or Saint, and "Shimun" means Simon or Peter. The Patriarch is thus called because in the eyes of the Assyrians he is St. Peter's successor on earth.

er officers. It was subdivided into three "areas," each area containing about 12,000 persons. The Armenians were placed in "A" area, the Urmian Assyrians in "B" area and the mountaineer Assyrians in "C" area. The areas were further subdivided into thirty-six sections, each containing, roughly, 1,250 persons.

Each area was, to begin with, placed under the command of a Major or Captain, and each section under a subaltern assisted by five British soldiers. Each section had fifty-one tents allotted to it. Of these one was used as a store tent for rations, &c., the remaining fifty as dwelling places for the refugees, who were thus accommodated at the rate of twenty-five per tent. In addition two long cookhouses, open on one side, were erected in each section, the walls being built of mud bricks, which are easily made in Mesopotamia, while the roof was constructed of poles and straw mats covered with an outer layer of mud.

CARING FOR THE REFUGEES

Deaths at first were enormously in excess of births; indeed, during the first six or eight months there were scarcely any births at all. Until about the middle of November there were forty or fifty deaths a day. A huge caldron of hot soup was prepared for each batch of refugees as it entered the camp, and on one occasion I remember an officer standing near the caldron was knocked right into it by the press of hungry people. In order to deal with the enormous percentage of sick cases it was found necessary to establish as many as three hospitals in the camp.

For a long time the refugees received their rations from the army, and a big ration dump, under the charge of an officer of the Supply and Transport Corps, was formed. During the existence of the camp both the amount of the ration and the cost varied slightly. Just before I left in July, 1921, the ration per head was as follows:

Daily: 1 pound flour, 2 ounces rice, 4 ounces fresh vegetables, 2 ounces dates, 2 pounds firewood.

Four times weekly: 4 ounces meat, 4 ounces dhal (a kind of grain). Small quantities of salt, tamarind, tea and sugar (1 ounce a week) were also issued. Children under 12 were given half rations. Milk was issued in small quantities to children between 18 months and 3 years.

When the camp was first formed the war had not ended. Four battalions (two and one-half Assyrian and one and one-half Armenian) were therefore raised from among the refugees, which were to have been used against the Turks. This brigade was quartered close to the camp. Very shortly after the armistice, however, all except one battalion of mountaineer Assyrians were disbanded. Discipline in the camp was maintained by a police force under a British officer.

Upon arrival the refugees were mostly in rags; thirteen yards of cheap cotton cloth per head, with a few needles and buttons and a little thread, were therefore issued. From time to time old army blankets and cast-off tunics were also distributed among them. Old army mess tins were given to those who had no cooking pots of their own.

For the first nine months the camp at Bakubah was entirely under the military, being under the direct command of the army headquarters at Bagdad. In May, 1919, however, it was transferred to the civil administration of Mesopotamia. The British personnel was greatly reduced, each of the three areas retaining but one, or at most two, British officers, with one or two soldiers. The places of the remainder were taken by refugees and each of the three different nationalities was permitted to elect a committee of its own, which settled small disputes among its own nationals.

DIFFICULTIES OF REPATRIATION

On the conclusion of the armistice it was hoped that it would be possible to send the refugees back to their own

country under reasonably safe conditions. For this reason no attempt was made to settle them down in Mesopotamia on any really permanent work. Month after month passed and still peace was not made with the Turks, who remained in unchallenged occupation of the lands from which the refugees came. At length, in the Summer of 1920, it was decided to concentrate the Assyrians around Mosul, with a view to their repatriation by land to Urmiah. Before each party left the camp it was supplied with arms and ammunition. During June and July considerable numbers of Assyrians left for Mosul.

On Aug. 11, 1920, the Arab rebellion suddenly spread to the Dialah Division, and by the night of Aug. 12 Bakubah had been occupied by the rebels, and the refugee camp, distant about three miles from the town, was surrounded on three sides by Arab snipers. At that time the situation in Mesopotamia was critical, and most of the troops were engaged with the main body of the rebels on the Euphrates. No troops could be spared for the Dialah until about Aug. 22, and for ten days the camp remained partially surrounded. All were placed on half rations. On five or six different occasions the refugees took the offensive against various parties of rebels, on each occasion driving them away with complete success. Both Assyrians and Armenians did some very good work on these occasions.

Troops were sent from Bagdad about Aug. 22 to deal with the Dialah Arabs, and the danger to the camp passed away. At the same time, however, orders were received that the camp at Bakubah was to be closed immediately. The remainder of the Assyrians were sent to Mosul, the Armenians to Nahr-Umar, about twenty-four miles upstream from Basrah, the port of Mesopotamia. It was then hoped that it would be at last possible to repatriate them, by sea, to their own republic in the Caucasus.

The transfer of the 12,000 or more

Armenians from Bakubah to Nahr-Umar was done as quickly as possible by rail and boat down the Tigris. By Sept. 7 the last party had arrived at Nahr-Umar and a new camp was constructed on lines similar to the one at Bakubah. In October, 1920, it was decided that it would be possible to repatriate the Armenians, but just as ships were on the verge of being chartered for this purpose news arrived of the collapse of the Armenian Republic in the Caucasus in front of the combined Turkish and Bolshevik assault. Repatriation, therefore, had again to be postponed.

It has now been finally decided to repatriate them to the new Soviet Armenian Republic, which has expressed its willingness to receive them. At the moment of writing (December, 1921)* the refugees are once more leaving Mesopotamia, the first boatload of 3,000 being already en route to Batum.

During this long period of three years the bulk of the refugees remained unemployed, owing at first to the desire of the Government to send them home and not to settle them permanently in Mesopotamia, and later on on account of the difficulty of finding work for them. Nearly all the skilled men, however, such as carpenters, masons, &c., have been provided with work under different Government departments. Work of a temporary nature was found at different periods for some of the unskilled, who were employed at various times on the construction of a railway embankment, a wireless station and railway bridge near Bakubah camp, roads near Mosul and Bagdad and, finally, as platelayers and casual laborers under the Railway Directorate.

The cost of maintenance of the refugees in Mesopotamia has been borne directly by the British taxpayer. Nearly all the money has come through the War Office, though lately the Colonial Office has taken charge of the refugees. The total amount of money expended on the Armenian refugees up to the end of

October last was approximately £1,500,000. This figure does not include the amount spent on the Assyrians, who have cost a much larger sum.

The Armenian refugees are now being sent to the Soviet Republic in the Caucasus. The outlook for them, however, is not rosy, owing to the famine conditions that prevail throughout the Caucasus. It is to be hoped that these victims of the great war, who clung to the allied cause in face of the heavy odds so obstinately,

and who, in spite of our victory, have lost so much by their action, somehow or other will be able to ride over their present difficulties and eventually obtain peace and security.

[Since this article was written, the Soviet Government at Moscow has announced the absorption of all the Caucasus republics into Russia. This apparently means that Armenia—even the fragment of it that survived in the Caucasus—is entirely wiped out. These Armenian refugees, therefore, after having been saved by the British from the Turks, seem destined to become Russian subjects.—Editor.]

THE FATE OF MEMEL

MEMEL, the little strip of territory lying between Lithuania and East Prussia, and claimed both by Lithuania and Poland, was placed provisionally under the administration of the allied and associated powers by the Treaty of Versailles. A decision favorable to Lithuania was provided for in the plan proposed by M. Paul Hymans to settle the Polish-Lithuanian controversy over Vilna. According to this plan, Lithuania would have taken over Memel, but would have guaranteed to Poland the right of transit over the Memel territory. This plan, however, was rejected, and though the Vilna problem has now been provisionally settled by the plebiscite solution adopted by the Warsaw Diet, Memel still remains under the provisional régime.

What will become of Memel? Its population is naturally made up of German and Lithuanian elements, the Germans predominating. That the economic and business elements are definitely opposed to Memel's being assigned either to Poland or to Lithuania, and favor the setting up of the district as a Free State under the protection of an Entente power, is demonstrated by a memorandum recently issued by "the Economic Bodies and Associations in favor of the Independence of the Memelland," in which the following considerations are urged:

The overwhelming majority of the population of the Memelland takes the clear decision of Article 99 of the Versailles Treaty into account; by which Germany cedes the Memelland, and desires to preserve the popular character of the Memelland in an independent State. The development of the Memelland hitherto under the protection of the French occupying authorities has shown that the Memelland is financially and

economically perfectly well able to exist, and gives rich promise of development in future, if it retains the further protection of the Entente. We demand unanimously and resolutely:

1. To be consulted in negotiations concerning the Memelland.
2. The complete independence of the Memelland, after we have proved conclusively that it is fully capable of existing, financially and economically.
3. We therefore beg that the Memelland may immediately be declared a free State under the protection of an Entente State.
4. We do not wish to be annexed politically either to Lithuania or Poland. On the other hand, we emphasize our willingness to conclude economic treaties with all neighboring States. We are prepared to admit Germany, Lithuania, Latvia and Poland to the free and unhampered use of our railways, waterways, and the port of Memel, and to promote transit communication in every way.
5. For this purpose preparations are being made to establish a free port and a free zone with the necessary buildings and plant.

The industry, shipping, trade, agriculture, crafts, fishermen and workers of the Memelland definitely expect their wishes to be considered.

Signed on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Agriculture, Chamber of Craftsmanship, Union of Fishermen's Associations of the Memelland, Employers' Association for Trade, Industry and Crafts, Agricultural Employers' Association, Federation of Free Trade Unions of the Memelland.

Among other arguments used are the following: (1) The allocation of Memel to Lithuania would mean the withdrawal of German trade and high import duties under Lithuanian tariff legislation. Both these eventualities would be a heavy blow to trade; (2) the danger of religious dissensions which would arise from assigning a Protestant community to a Catholic power; (3) the poor educational facilities of Poland and Lithuania and the lower living standard.

CIVIL STRIFE IN ITALY

BY CARLETON BEALS

Origin of Fascisti, and their bitter war on Communism—Real causes of failure of revolution a year ago—Peasant opposition and lack of raw materials—Bonomi Government built on factional discords—Elements of danger in the situation

MILAN may well boast of having more hurdy-gurdies than any other city in the world. Civil strife has not silenced them. A young cavalry officer from my pension was guiding me down a slot of a street near the Porta Venezia in that city when the rollicking, Old World tune of "Funiculi, Funicula," floated around a corner, and we came upon a smeary bambino dancing hilariously in the gutter. The officer pointed with his *bastone* at a small yellowed poster above the frowzy gray head of the woman turning the crank. I read:

"Proletariat: 300 of your comrades were killed in this street during the last fourteen months by Fascisti and Royal Guards."

While I was still marveling, my companion grasped my arm and shoved me unceremoniously through the doorway of an inky charcoal shop. A file of Fascisti with heavy loaded canes swung around the corner singing their quick-step, "Giovanezza, Giovanezza." We stood in a factory workers' section. As though a button had been pressed, the doors of the dark little wineshops and dingy clattering lunchrooms literally exploded Communists, who fell upon the Fascisti with fists, knives and revolvers. The conflict ebbed and flowed and swirled around the barrel-organ.

Presently some one raised the cry of "Guardia Regia"! ("Royal Guards!") We heard a few sporadic last shots, the scurrying of many feet, and—like a tropic thunder-shower—the disturbance ended as unexpectedly as it had begun.

Poking my head cautiously out of the charcoal shop, I caught a glimpse of a laughing bambino crawling from under the organ, and a group of battered and disheveled Fascisti beating a retreat around the corner. The only casualty was a donkey that had been hitched to a wine-cart, over whose twitching carcass a runty, raccoon-faced Neapolitan wept copiously. As we passed on I heard the rollicking strains of "Funiculi, Funicula," and glancing back saw the bambino dancing hilariously in the gutter.

THE CIVIL WAR

During the ensuing week the Communists and Fascisti fought a series of pitched battles with casualties in this same Porta Venezia. A few days later occurred the fiendish bomb explosion in the Diana Theatre. The windows of our room overlooking the Porta puffed inward with a mighty roar that brought my wife out of a sound sleep and her feet to the floor. For two hours of indescribable confusion they were carrying out the dead and wounded. The same night the new million-lire Socialist headquarters were burned to the ground, the meeting place of the *sindicati* was invaded, and an attack made upon the Anarchist paper, *La Umanita Nuova*. From Florence, Bologna, Trieste, Pisa and other centres came accounts of equally terrible occurrences. This was in March.

When I went to Bologna several months later to make a first-hand investigation of the agrarian situation, I found myself in the midst of an

open Peasant-Fascisti land war, which has been more intense and sustained than the struggles in any other part of the country. The scenario writer who piloted me around that medieval university town, and through its endless miles of shadowy polychromic arcades, warned me: "If you see a fight start, or hear a revolver shot, dive for the nearest doorway or drop on your face. The blood of Romagna is hot." Twice I had occasion to follow his advice.

Most of this violence, during the last six months, has been unnecessarily provoked by the Fascisti, who are as doctrinaire in their way as the Communists. Many times since I have witnessed smaller frays, and in many a town have heard on clear nights the echo of marching feet across deserted piazzas and beneath medieval arches, and that blood-quickenning song, "Giovanezza," or the old Roman battle-cry, "Eja, eja, alala!" Most of the Fascisti are young men—I have seen the average age given as 24 and again as 23—and this propensity for night prowling and night violence is, in part, an unavoidable legacy of the war, of marches beneath the black windy sky and long wakeful hours in the star-lit trenches; in part, a primeval passion for the dark, the restless wakefulness of overwrought nerves, and the call that the mystery of warm south nights makes to every living creature.

HOW FASCISMO AROSE

The popular mind believes that the Fascisti smothered the general revolutionary movement of last year. In reality the idea of immediate revolution had been abandoned before the Fascisti intervention in internal affairs had passed beyond the stage of sporadic, unco-ordinated violence. The *Fasci di Combattimento* grew logically out of d'Annunzio's whirlwind campaign, which put Italy into the war on the side of the Allies. The program of these bodies was at first concerned with the recovery of Italia

Irredenta: Trieste, Istria, Fiume, Dalmatia and certain ports in Albania, and hence their members were and still are extreme nationalists. They formed the backbone of d'Annunzio's following in Fiume and have since undertaken that violent Italianization of the Slav population in Trieste and Istria which has aroused so much ill-feeling in Zagreb and Belgrade.

The active interest of the Fascisti in the domestic life of Italy was not aroused to any appreciable extent until the menace of revolutionary propaganda and the factory "occupations" threatened to weaken the Government's diplomatic attempts to gain possession of the Adriatic outposts. Fascisti violence, therefore, did not gain general headway until 1921; in fact, the apogee of fury was not reached until the elections in May.

The reality of the crisis the Fascisti encountered is unquestionable. A year ago Italy was in the grip of a revolutionary movement absolutely unique in tactic, but the results of which would doubtless have been, in time, as disastrous as the Bolshevik experiment. To all practical purposes the Government under the leadership of Signor Giolitti had abdicated all control over the industrial life of the nation. A new sovereignty—a Soviet sovereignty—was in process of being erected by the workers, who had occupied and barricaded the factories. The famous European correspondents were hastening south to witness the third experiment in proletarian dictatorship. Italy was already being ostracised by the world; the dollar was quoted at more than thirty lire; trade was collapsing; shipments were being frantically held up; tourists were fleeing to the frontiers.

The reasons for the failure of this revolutionary movement are now becoming more obvious. The arch-priests of the Third International heap the coals of blame upon the head of G. M. Serrati, one of the extreme leaders of the Socialist Party—a bearded, spectacled man who always reminds me of an emaciated Karl Marx. In so doing they reveal an

adolescent conception of Italian conditions quite at variance with their own emphasis upon immutable and impersonal economic determinism. The liberals thank Premier Giolitti for his statesmanlike restraint, and his refusal to aggravate the situation by the use of armed force; and certainly his pacific resistance now appears to have been fully justified, and his insight into the psychology of his people singularly acute. But the Socialist leaders know bitterly that other reasons explain the collapse of the proletarian experiment.

WHY REVOLUTION FAILED

Certain more deeply-rooted and enduring factors operated to make most of these human agents but mere bobbing corks on the stream of events. First of all, Italy is not a geographical, racial, political or industrial unit. Lombardy, Piedmont, Liguria and the Po Valley—Italia Settentrionale—is sharply divided from the rest of the country. Its characteristics, climate and products are those of Central Europe. Its people are born of the melting pot. Mariotti, half a century ago, termed its tall, blond, serene-eyed inhabitants "the Lombard wolves, or the Boeotians of Italy." Physically and temperamentally they constitute a distinct type.

In Northern Italy and Tuscany are to be found the manufactories. Milan is the industrial capital of the country—a *Handelstadt*—and in more ways than one, for the Germans and Swiss once played a large part in its development. The rest of Italy, from Rome south, including the island possessions, is pre-eminently agrarian and pastoral.

These conditions produce corresponding political phenomena. If Italy were chartered—red for the Socialists and Communists, yellow for the Catholic Party (*Partito Popolare*), and blue for the Constitutionals, Liberals and Conservatives—from Rome south the country would be quite bluish, with dots of yellow; to the north—except in the annexed areas—largely red and yellow, deep-

ening to almost sanguinary intensity in Milan.

Thus revolution in Italy would mean, not merely a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship of the factory workers of Lombardy. The peasantry, even of Northern Italy, is more Catholic than Socialist. The one noteworthy exception is in the province of Emilia. But though the mass of the peasants there claim to be Socialist, their unique, co-operative "colonies" afford one of the most constructive and commendable examples of voluntary labor association in the world. Revolution would press heavily upon the Italian peasants, who comprise the largest industrial group and produce the bulk of the national wealth. The mass of the peasantry were and are against confiscation of property, and, in case revolution had been carried through, would sooner or later have opposed a solid front against the Milan dictatorship.

The next largest element in the Italian population is the small mercantile class. The ideal of the average poor man of Italy—if he cannot emigrate—is to rake together enough money to open a tiny shop which will gradually expand, while not heavily taxing mentality or energy, and which will permit of many hours of idle guitar-thrumming or easy garrulity. The small merchants and traders were not eager for revolution. They would have been the first to suffer, and would have been more harshly dislocated than any other social group. As one passes down the constricted streets of any city or town and glances into these kerosene-lighted, dusty cubbyholes, with their meagre stocks of fruit or stationery, where the whole family congregates, perhaps even sleeps, and the crawling babies clutch at the dresses and trousers of the customers as though to detain them for another five minutes of vivacious gossip—one vividly realizes the impenetrable silent opposition these individualistic units offered to the on-rolling phalanxes of revolution.

INDUSTRIAL NEEDS DECISIVE

The immediate factor, however, in averting revolution was the actual industrial situation, and the inevitable realization by the workers themselves that they could not run the factories. Oddly enough, the most active opposition to the new movement did not come from the wealthy industrial groups. Their attitude was: "Go ahead and run the factories." They knew that the acute shortage of coal and iron made this an impossibility. At the time of the "occupations," industrial conditions were fast approaching an impasse; the first wave of the industrial depression that has since smothered the world was making itself felt.

The workers—in actual possession of the factories—faced the fact that they could not continue operations without raw supplies, which, once the revolution had taken place—even had the great powers imposed no blockade—would have been even less obtainable. The workers' Government would have been without credit or purchasing power; industry, which has survived in Italy through the treaty stipulations regarding coal, would have collapsed. The ravenous city dwellers would have been forced into a military raping of agricultural products in order to survive.

Zinoviev and other Russian leaders have since argued in connection with their accusations of Serrati that the contagion of revolution would have quickly spread to France and England. But the Italian workers, scanning the horizon, saw no alacrity on the part of labor in those countries to follow their example. All this led to a prompt willingness to compromise on the *Controllo* act—a law that would have created advisory workers' committees in each factory, but was never put in force—hastened the secession of the Socialist Party from the Third International, and has since completely altered the party's tactics.

Perhaps, in any event, the Socialist Party lacked the coherence to carry through a revolutionary program.

The Socialist Party of Italy is not as powerful as its numbers indicate. Since the signing of the armistice the membership of the party has trebled. It became—and it still is—the numerically largest party in the Chamber. Much of this following is sentimental, not class-conscious—a jumbling together of the pacifist sentiment which caused the disastrous military strike of Caporetto, the vague discontent resulting from post-war adjustment, and above all from the precipitate demobilization which flung millions back into civil life almost simultaneously, with no attempt to insure their industrial assimilation. At the very beginning of the "occupations" revolutionary enthusiasm was dissipated in factional bickering.

DISINTEGRATION OF FASCISTI

This led to the first open split since 1911. At the Congress of Leghorn last March, when the twenty-one conditions of Moscow were rejected, the Communists, controlling about a third of the delegated vote, seceded to form a separate party. The Socialist Party has since been receding from its more rabid tactics. Meanwhile the advocates of social reform have consolidated their position. The social-reform wing is led by Filippo Turati, who advocates collaboration in the Cabinet with other parties. His speeches this last session have shown a consistent willingness to enter—perhaps head—a coalition Cabinet. He has argued that voting is collaboration with a bourgeois Government, that holding a seat in Parliament is collaboration, that the present tacit support of Premier Bonomi is collaboration; that, therefore, the logical course is "to enter the camp of realization—thus securing a little socialism—without sacrificing the party's independence of thought and action." In the recent Congress of Milan, which threatened to disrupt the party a second time, the collaborationists—*Frazione di Concentrazione*—controlled a third of the vote.

This faction largely dictated the

signing of a peace pact with the Fascisti. That pact has had disastrous effects upon the Fascisti organization. Many local members—especially in the agricultural districts, where the Socialists still exercise practically autonomous colony-control of the land—have refused to abide by the pact. This insubordination caused the resignation of Signor Mussolini, the head of the Fascisti movement. Mussolini is an interesting and volatile character, constantly running before his horse to market. For many years he was editor of *The Avanti*. At the time of the Crispi Government, which vigorously suppressed radical organizations, he fled with Serrati, Matteotti and other extremists to Switzerland. In 1914 he separated from the Socialists and founded *The Popolo d'Italia*, in the columns of which he supported d'Annunzio's efforts to force a declaration of war against Austria. He has resigned on several occasions from the head of the Fascisti, and his latest exploit is the fighting of a duel with one of the leading newspaper editors of Rome.

THE CHANGING SITUATION

The fate of the *Fasci* is still doubtful. Many organizations are desisting from active violence in accordance with the pact; others are disbanding entirely. Mussolini is endeavoring to transform them into a national political organization. But unless some new twist in national affairs occurs, the organization seems fated to disappear. It has no positive program, and its members lack the requisite experience and judgment for consistent political activity.

Far more significant in many respects is the disintegration threatening the Partito Popolare. This organization was originally founded as a result of the evangelical enunciation of the "*Rerum Novarum*," and is an offshoot of the vast Christian-Social movement of Ketteler, Manning, De Mun and Toniolo. Not until 1905 did it enter politics, since which time it has shown steady growth. At

present the Catholics occupy 110 seats in the Chamber, and form the second largest group.

The policy of the Popular Party has been tinged with mild nationalism, milder internationalism and vague social reform. It has concerned itself with the mitigation of class-antagonisms through a consistent emphasis upon the rights of the small proprietor—*il piccolo borghese*. The party has thus made its strongest appeal to the shopkeepers and small landowners of the Adriatic delta district. Of recent years much of its phenomenal growth has been due to an increasing emphasis upon material reforms. This has opened the doors to the more radical elements, and injected class virulence into the councils of the party. At the last two National Congresses the strength of the radical elements under the leadership of Miglioli has been growing. These Christian Socialist elements are largely responsible for the disowning of the leaders who have collaborated with Premier Bonomi, and have undoubtedly influenced the position of Turati. In addition, the Catholic Confederazione Italiana dei Lavoratori has shown an increasing readiness in times of crisis to follow the lead of the Socialist Confederazione Generale del Lavoro.

This general party disintegration is nothing new in Italian political life. For decades Signor Giolitti has manoeuvred to prevent the formation of clearly defined parties, finding the bickering factions of Parliament, all of which were invariably permeated with his adherents, far easier to manipulate. Though this is characteristic of Latin politics, it has led to a peculiarly vicious state of affairs, for in times of crisis any small but active group is enabled to exercise a power quite disproportionate to its actual numerical strength. The lack of consistent party control accounts for much of the governmental impotence in the fact of Socialist, Communist and Fascisti violence.

But the simplest things in Italian national life have always been at-

tained only by the most frenzied waste of emotional energy. Progress has always been measured by the reactions to such emotional debauches. Out of the general turbulence of Italian life emerge certain deeper tendencies. The reaction to war was revolution; the reaction to revolution, Fascisti violence; the reaction to Fascisti violence, a widespread desire for an ordered State. The present majority sentiment of the country clamors for internal peace, bureaucratic reform, rigid economy, and sound, heroic reconstruction.

The political elements for the attainment of these desiderata do not appear to be in existence. The present Bonomi Ministry is built upon the shifting sands of factional discord. Signor Bonomi is himself a clever political manipulator. He began his career as an extreme Socialist. He has been elected to various local offices by Socialist constituencies, and served on the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. From 1908 to 1910 he was the editor of *The Avanti!* Though expelled from the party in 1911 along with the faction that collaborated with the Government at that time, his sympathies have never been completely alienated from the Socialists, by whom he is addressed familiarly by his first name, "Ivanoe," or "tu."

With the publication of the Dugoni letters and other documents, it has come to light that Premier Bonomi arrived at a secret understanding with certain Socialist leaders before accepting his post, especially with regard to the appointment of a general head of the Prefects who could be depended upon to suppress Fascisti violence. Practically every local Prefect has since been transferred or removed, and the shooting down of Fascisti by Royal Guards in Modena and elsewhere attests to the thorough carrying out of this agreement.

THE ARDITI DEL POPOLO

But the slenderness of the thread by which Signor Bonomi dangles in

the Premiership robs stringency of its dignity. These attacks upon the Fascisti seem ill-advised—a tickling of catastrophe. Fascisti violence was already sputtering to the socket, and the Fascisti organizations which were not already disintegrating were in process of transformation into local political bodies. The last months of 1921 have witnessed a vicious recrudescence of violence—sullenness on the part of the Fascisti and marked boldness on the part of the Communists. The *Arditi del Popolo*, composed of extreme Socialists, Communists and Catholics, and pledged to violent reprisals against the Fascisti, has grown rapidly in numbers and fervor. The rebellion of a company of Royal Guards when ordered to fire on Fascisti has not increased the Government's prestige; nor is the new amnesty to instigators of civil strife likely to appease either faction.

It is true, on the other hand, that the present Cabinet has seriously attempted to curtail expenditure. The budget estimates for 1921-22 have been cut 10,000,000,000 lire. Some tentative reforms have been effected in the bureaucracy, and some slight efforts made toward handling the unemployment crisis.

Until the international industrial and financial situation is clarified an ordered Italian State is impossible. The internal pacification of Italy has been of doubtful, slow growth—a part of the general pacification of Europe. The will to peace and order is in the hearts of the Italian people, but the material sinews are lacking.

"There is only one certainty in politics," said Machiavelli, with his eyes on the tumultuous city-States, "the uncertainty." On this, the six hundredth anniversary of the death of the "enduring" Dante and the sixtieth year of Italian unity, the uncertainty is still certain. As apt as when Horace walked down the Via Sacra are those words addressed to the Roman State:

O Ship, new waves will drive you back to sea. Bravely gain the port. O, what are

you doing? Do you not perceive that your sides are destitute of oars, and your mast wounded by the violent south wind, that your main-yards groan and your keel can scarcely withstand the impetus of the waves * * * ? Look to yourself if you do not wish to be the sport of winds.

Yet I shall always see that bambino dancing in the gutter, and the runty, raccoon-faced Neapolitan shedding tears over his donkey; there, at least, was the bed-rock of human nature; and as long as the hurdy-gurdies can

play, as long as in the midst of strife there shall be laughter without fear and tears without hate, one may be sure that the old, casual, cruel, keen-witted Italy that has survived 3,000 years of vicissitude is not dead, the port not lost, and that there must still be brave promise for a nation with sufficient resilience of spirit to give the modern world a Mazzini, a d'Annunzio, a Montessori and a Marconi.

GERMANY'S UNOFFICIAL KAISER: HUGO STINNES

BY BURNET HERSHEY

How the German Rockefeller rose to power during the European war, and the vast extent of his enterprises—Mines, factories, railways, shipping, the press, all falling beneath his sway—His political influence

IN Germany, one sees a one-man power—Hugo Stinnes. He has seized the chief German industries, he has spread the tentacles of his promoting genius to Austria; he is the new Kaiser of industry. The solution of the problem of the billions Germany will pay as war indemnity is believed to be in his hands. Small wonder then that to Stinnes is accorded that deference reserved formerly for the Kaiser. Even in the Reichstag, of which he is a member, he is pointed out in awe. "That is Stinnes," they whisper.

For three months I had the opportunity of studying Stinnes at first hand. During that time he was my next-door neighbor at the Hotel Adlon. The hotel is on the famous Unter den Linden, and the large Stinnes suite faces both this beautiful thoroughfare and the Pariser Platz, where, with its tri-color flying,

stands the French Embassy, of which Stinnes has an unobstructed view. Opening into a corridor are five or six doors leading from one cabinet room to another. This corridor is continually crowded. There is ever a restless surge about the place. Always, patiently and meekly, there waits to see Stinnes a host of business executives. Every time I walked through the corridor I passed them, silent and sitting apart. One thing they had in common. All guarded preciously a portfolio. These men are the Directors of the numerous and far-reaching companies owned and controlled by the mighty Stinnes. From near and far they travel to bring reports for the personal supervision of the financial genius who organized and combined these companies. Bank Presidents, shipping officials, Directors of coal and mining corporations, newspaper editors,

statesmen, politicians—all wait sometimes hours until summoned by the industrial imperator. They form the connecting links in the business chain forged by the master craftsman of commerce.

The Hotel Adlon practically constitutes the new imperial palace in Berlin. On the third floor Stinnes sits on the throne from which he rules Germany. His finger is on the pulse of Germany. At his word the mighty industrial machinery of the nation hums into motion. His office is a seismograph of the fluctuations of the country's commerce. The fall of the House of Hohenzollern brought the rise of the House of Stinnes. Under the cloak of the new republic Stinnes hides his sovereignty.

Stinnes is a veritable Sphinx. Journalists by the score have tried to interview him, and all have failed. Only through his monumental undertakings is he known. Living in such proximity to him as to be able to observe his daily movements, I felt I might tear down this wall of reticence. One morning I sought an interview. The rebuff I met was curt and decisive. I approached Stinnes on one of his hurried walks in the passage way.

"I am your neighbor," I explained, "and an American journalist. I would like your opinion, say, on repatriation."

His eyes snapped menacingly, and he retorted sharply: "I haven't given any interviews as yet, and I don't think I will begin now. Remember that!"

Often he occupied the next table to me in the dining salon. Sitting close by, I watched him eat. He eats gluttonously. As a host he is lavish. At mealtime he is continually surrounded by old friends, whom he entertains sumptuously. The finest of foods and the rarest wines are served. His guests are solely close business associates, and are not chosen for social position. Stinnes doesn't care a snap for society.

In all the time I saw Stinnes I never caught a smile on his stern

face. He is reticent and dour. Music, nevertheless, appeals to him, particularly Viennese melodies. Rudolph Stern, the Austrian virtuoso who plays nightly at the hotel, received many liberal tips from Stinnes. Because of his admirable playing this violinist was quite a favorite with the industrial giant. Hungarian rhapsodies and czardas are very popular with Stinnes, and he shows openly his appreciation.

Stinnes is of the American business type, alert and dynamic. Like the typical New Yorker, he is interminably on the go, always in a hurry. Often he rushes by so suddenly that one barely can identify him. Those with him invariably are hurrying to catch up with him. Whenever Stinnes shoots through the lobby, his passage evokes a hush of awe. Those who bow receive no acknowledgment. The only person whose greeting I ever saw Stinnes return was that of the aged proprietor of the hotel, Lorenz Adlon, a friend of the former Kaiser. Others he passes by. In vain photographers wait for him. He brushes them aside, and sweeps past so rapidly that he is gone before they realize it.

A GERMAN ROCKEFELLER

Stinnes is the champion war profiteer. He has made more money than any other German out of the war. Today he is the wealthiest man in Germany. His holdings exceed in value those even of Bertha Krupp or August Thyssen. As a commercial architect, his monetary companies are unrivaled. He is a trust engineer on a huge scale. The total capitalization of the corporations he has created runs into fabulous figures. The full range of his divers interests defies listing. His commercial appetite seems insatiable.

Revenue reports show that in 1904 Stinnes had to struggle along with an income of from 400,000 to 500,000 marks. In ten years, by 1914, he had accumulated a fortune of from twenty-five to thirty million marks.

Berlin bankers roughly estimate that his obvious fortune today totals more than a billion gold marks.

Stinnes is not wholly self-made. He started with a fortune, which by his financial and industrial genius he has multiplied into a staggering total. Born at Mulheim, in the Rhineland, on Feb. 12, 1870, he inherited an estate which bore upon its soil a forest, and beneath it coal deposits. The report has gone abroad that Stinnes is of Jewish parentage. This is not the case. His father was of pure Teutonic stock, and his mother (nee Coupierre) was a descendant of the French Huguenots. Hugo Stinnes received his early training in a commercial school. He then became an employe in the copper and iron plant of a wealthy family friend. At 19 he entered the Berlin School of Mines, which he left in a short time to enter the employ of his paternal grandfather. When his father died Hugo was not yet 20. He inherited huge coal interests. To learn the business thoroughly, he mined coal himself. He soon became what is known as a "coal baron." Today he controls at least sixty mines. In 1913 the capacity of his mines was 10 per cent. of the entire German production, and Germany at that time ranked third in coal production. Stinnes demonstrated that coal could be profitably exported to England, a remarkable feat. In entering into the field of inland shipping he was following family tradition, for his grandfather, Matthias Stinnes, was one of the first to correct the bed of the Rhine to make it navigable for vessels of greater draught.

Although at the outbreak of the great war he was a figure of growing industrial prominence, he had not achieved a position of national power. Not tall, but bulky, intensely dark, with black beard and mustache, bushy eyebrows, a twisted nose, piercing eyes and a manner harsh and despotic, his looks were never prepossessing. He cared little for dress. In and out of season he wore and still wears a black derby having a

high crown and a peculiarly narrow brim. The Stinnes derby is famous.

STINNES'S RISE TO POWER

It was during the war that Stinnes first showed signs of mastery. He was one of the chief figures in Supreme War Councils. Ludendorff and Hindenburg asked his opinions. The Kaiser took his advice. Stinnes issued orders. As the principal contributor of war materials his aid was sorely needed. He practically controlled the sinews of the war. The Krupps were only a popular legend. It was Stinnes who produced the war munitions and supplies that flowed steadily to the front.

Stinnes played a large part in the spoliation of Belgium and France. It was his plan to wreck these countries industrially during German occupancy. French steel mills and coal mines were the targets for his attack. Competing with his, they had always been a thorn in his side. When he found them at his mercy, he carried on wholesale destruction in the name of war. He set out to damage them irreparably, so that he could snatch up markets while the French were struggling to re-establish their disorganized industries. The hand of Stinnes demolished the industries of Northern France. At that time Germany was still courting victory, and the probability of defeat had not been considered; so Stinnes carried out his deliberate scheme for the annihilation of French industrial life. In 1918, the French Minister of Finance, Klotz, showed that the wanton ruin in the wake of German hordes was not purely a war measure, but the insidious work of an industrial schemer.

With the war lost, Stinnes has recourse to a new stratagem. France having displayed remarkable recuperative powers, the German business lord, for whom business considerations dominate sentiment, desired to strike an industrial alliance. He has succeeded in stimulating the foreign trade of Germany. His advocacy of rapprochement of an economic basis has gained support in French financial

and commercial circles. Stinnes succeeded in convincing Frenchmen that the future of France and Germany as well as that of Continental Europe rests upon an economic understanding between the two great powers. He seeks an economic alliance with France because it ranks second in iron and steel manufacture. The economic agreement on reparations recently concluded between France and Germany at Wiesbaden was the opening wedge of the Stinnes plan.

Insight into the methods of Stinnes employed in the construction of his elaborate commercial edifice reveals him as an industrial buccaneer. In the creation of his vast enterprises he has used every device for coercing rivals and transforming opposing firms into subsidiaries. The history of his rise is a story of commercial expediency. Every move he made was to insure and safeguard his interests and to give him a tighter grip in some particular field. His growth was methodical and systematic. Not by accident, but by steady achievement, he rose to the powerful commanding position he holds in the world.

The tale of what Stinnes did in Belgium is illuminating. It gives an idea of how he accomplishes his ends. Without accepting any risk, Stinnes made enormous profits out of Belgium during the war. He obtained a concession on the industries of Belgium with the understanding that he would pay for them upon annexation. For four years he exploited Belgian industry. Since the country was not acquired by Germany he has paid nothing for the rich privilege of collecting profits from the sale of the products of Belgian factories.

When informed of the inevitable loss of the war, Stinnes took precaution to safeguard his fortune. Ludendorff warned him of the ultimate outcome, and Stinnes immediately made huge investments in Dutch companies. He carried off a good part of his wealth and placed it for safekeeping in solid institutions in Holland. Just as the ex-Kaiser has sought refuge in Holland, so Stinnes

has stored a sufficient fortune there, where it is out of the hands of both the German Revenue Office and the Allies.

STEP BY STEP

There is nothing haphazard about the rise of this captain of industry. One enterprise was used as a stepping stone to another, and it was pressure of circumstances that caused him to reach out into other fields. Today his holdings present such a conglomeration that it seems strange to find one man having interests which seem so unrelated. But the Stinnes system of procedure made them all necessary, and so, today, we find that coke, coal, gas, electricity, steel, forests, factories, ships, harbors, shipbuilding plants, hotels, newspapers, &c., are all integral parts of the Stinnes machine.

The first great combination that Stinnes effected was the merger of the Rhenish-Westphalian Electric Works, the Gelsenkirchen Mining Company, the Rodder Coal Mines and the Deutsch-Luxemburg Mining Company. In forming this industrial union Stinnes worked on the basis of consolidating the producers and consumers. He dovetailed natural resources like coal and iron with gas and electrical utilities in the district surrounding Essen. This was his initial achievement, and he planned it long before the war. But it was the pressure of war that brought about the amalgamation.

Through the Rhenish-Westphalian Electric Company Stinnes got control of the subsidiary street railway systems. This corporation also is a holding company for the metallurgic factories. During the war Stinnes was able to monopolize the manufacture of chemical and war material. It was no easy task, but he reconciled the antagonistic factors. After the war he maintained the commanding position he had won in this field.

Recognizing the importance of raw materials and intermediate products,

Stinnes acquired interest in plants for the distillation of lignite or brown coal, taking over the Riebeck-Halle Corporation. Next he realized that the development of the by-products of coke and fuel was as necessary as the development of power machinery, and that it was imperative to control both to insure a powerful monopoly. In this way he stretched his holdings into the field of dynamo and water manufacture. He purchased the bankrupt Wittenauer Imperial Works and then gradually acquired other companies in order to strengthen his hold on this industry, his final acquisition being the great Loeb Works.

Stinnes then got interested in rail and water transportation. Many large railway systems now operate under his orders, and inland waterways shipping is under his control. John D. Rockefeller used rebates to defeat competition. Stinnes found rebates not enough. He must own the conveyances. To circumvent the differential freight rates he organized syndicates. He created not only the German Water Transportation Company, but also various branch firms in Russia, England, Italy and the smaller countries. When war narrowed his sphere of operation, he cleverly liquidated his foreign holdings without incurring losses. His primary object was to acquire cargo space for his manufactures, and in his characteristic way he soon established a monopoly of German inland waterways shipping.

His next step was to acquire control of the ship construction steel works in the Emden district. His efforts were not restricted to inland shipping. Ocean transportation was also a requisite, so, acting in conjunction with the late Henry Ballin, he acquired the Hapag, Waerman and East African Lines. Cheaper ocean freight rates and direct routes to markets were his chief considerations. He added more lines, and, as in other industries, he became a commanding figure in the marine world. German river and coastwise traffice is almost completely under his supervision.

Like the Kaiser of other days, Stinnes has his eyes turned to the East. The Berlin-to-Bagdad railway was a dream which wrecked William II.'s reign. Yet Stinnes may succeed where the Emperor failed. His commercial navy sails the Rhine, the Oder, the Elbe and down the Danube, giving him unchecked egress to the East. Stinnes also has his vision of tapping the East for its treasures, and under the guise of an international trader he has set out to win the coveted prize.

RUTHLESS FINANCE

Herr Stinnes's method of financing is simple. He merely uses other people's capital. He harnesses outside money to his financial chariot. When others are large investors, big dividends fail to be declared. This is shown in his management of the Rhenish-Westphalian Corporation, and the Hamburger Trading and Transportation Company. Extra dividends accruing are used in enlarging the scope and operation of the firms, and incidentally go toward increasing the strength of the controlling genius.

When Germany was obliged under the Versailles Treaty to deliver 300,000 tons of coal monthly, this burden, together with the labor shortage, crippled Germany's fuel supply. High as the price of coal was, Stinnes decided that it was not high enough. Being the coal king, he tied up fuel delivery and throttled the output of the mines. A desperate coal shortage resulted and the price mounted. As coal monopolist, Stinnes collected a royal tribute. Involved in projects requiring fuel and motive power, Stinnes is turning his attention to studying the oil and oil-motive problems. His aim is to gain control of inventions which will revolutionize the use of crude oils for energy and so enable him to win mastery in this undeveloped field.

When Stinnes discovered that he had become—overnight, so to speak—a national figure, he realized that he would have to take over the press for

the purpose of wielding public opinion in his own interests. Some newspapers overstepped what he considered the bounds of prudence, and to prevent further unpleasantness he simply bought them up. Dr. Georg Gothein, a colleague of Stinnes and a former German Minister, is authority for the statement in the *Neue Freie Presse* of April 1, 1921, that Stinnes was purchasing one daily after another and that there was no checking his newspaper acquisitions. To date, they number more than seventy. He owns the powerful *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which, during the days of the empire, was the semi-official organ. He controls the Reuter Bureau, the Associated Press of Germany. Even *Simplicissimus*, the national humorous magazine, is his. Stinnes is the Lord Northcliffe of Germany in his domination of the public prints. Ownership of newspapers led the way to ownership of paper mills. He has acquired forests for wood pulp, and, since he also controls the production of cellulose, the numerous Stinnes newspapers will never be short of print paper. Stinnes runs his newspapers like his other industries. His object is not editorship, nor is it the raising of German journalism to a higher plane. All he wants is to be certain of creating favorable opinion for his activities.

Joint ownership and control of public utilities by cities, communities and private capital is one of the pioneer achievements of Stinnes in Germany. His plan is to have communities become partners in public enterprises—a co-operative municipal ownership scheme. For himself, however, Stinnes reserves a definite power of management, thus insuring profit for himself under the guise of public benefaction.

Stinnes's project to assist the German people to fulfill the reparation penalties throws further light on his resourcefulness. He preaches increased production as the panacea for rebuilding Germany's economic structure. He advocates labor sharing by stock ownership. To the working-

men he appears to be heralding a beneficent gospel.

Stinnes, however, does not overlook the fact that increased production in his mines and factories means more profits for him. He argues for the raising of the number of working



(© International)

HUGO STINNES

Germany's most powerful capitalist, who controls many of the nation's richest mines and largest newspapers

hours, which would fit in nicely with his plans. The few shares he would allow his workmen certainly would repay him in increased production and as insurance against strikes. Stinnes dominates the Volkspartei, or People's Party, and, ironically enough, poses as the spokesman of the laboring class.

HIS POWER DISPLAYED

At the Spa conference Stinnes thrust himself forward as the supreme master of Germany's destiny. He invited the Allies to submit to him personally the reparation proposals. Acting unofficially, for he was not a member of the body, he undertook to procure Germany's approval providing the terms were acceptable to him. The allied representatives were astonished at his role of leadership. They were also surprised at the strange deference shown Stinnes by the German entourage.

Again, at the recent London conference, Stinnes displayed his power. Stresemann acted solely under Stinnes's orders. Stinnes planned to reject the allied proposals. In France the feeling was that Stinnes desired occupation of the Ruhr Valley. A Socialist newspaper, the *Schwäbische Tagwacht* of Stuttgart, wrote:

Stinnes and his friends had calculated that within the first few months after the occupation of the Ruhr district the price of coal would rise so enormously as to become prohibitive for the rest of Germany. During these first few months it was intended to accelerate production of coal to the utmost until gigantic stores had been accumulated. This, Stinnes and his friends believe, could be accomplished under the protection of French troops, whereupon wages

would be decreased and working hours increased.

If he desired, Stinnes could come to the aid of Germany as Rothschild did in France after the war of 1870. Stinnes, however, does not plan to be the savior of Germany. He is not a popular figure, like certain American millionaires. His system is not the amassing of wealth, but rather the persistent elaboration of a definite industrial evolution.

Since peace has been formally declared between the United States and Germany, Stinnes has indicated a desire to visit America. His object is to conclude an industrial alliance and to establish markets here. In Germany he is Chairman of the boards of twenty-one corporations and a member of twenty-six others. His commercial prestige will win a ready hearing with our captains of industry.

Wherever you turn in Germany you come upon Stinnes. For the most part you come into contact with his projects. Everywhere, it seems, nothing can be done without him. Continually you buy his products, ride on his transportation systems, enter his banks. At every turn Stinnes greets you—and collects tribute. Already there are murmurings against the might of this industrial giant. He is trying to replace the well-known trade mark, "Made in Germany," with "Made by Stinnes." How secure is his hold on the new throne of Germany? Rumblings predicated volcanic disturbance are heard, and whether the dynasty of the House of Stinnes will live through the inevitable eruption time alone can tell.

SOLVING GERMANY'S HOUSE PROBLEM

BY JULIAN PIERCE

Remarkable results of a new plan that gives building contracts to co-operative associations of workers—Houses built by willing labor for one-third to one-half less than under old methods

GERMANY is undertaking to solve the housing shortage by the "socialization" of the housing industry, applied under different plans. The methods employed are worthy of study by Americans in search of a cure for the present prohibitive cost of housing construction. In the United States the term "socialization" usually implies direct Government construction and management. In the current phraseology of the German building industry the term has a significance quite different. Although it is used to describe the principle of the plans now being worked out, those who use it reject partly or entirely municipalization and nationalization.

Under one German plan the Federal Government, States and municipalities award housing and other contracts to co-operative construction societies composed of the workers themselves. The societies are organized as public utility associations. In some instances they are set up by the municipal governments; in others they are organized by the mental and manual workers in the building industry.

This plan is endorsed by the National Union of Building Workers and by the organized labor movement generally. It was adopted as a substitute for direct nationalization and municipalization of the housing industry, which was opposed on the ground that hitherto Government management, whether national, State or municipal, has compared unfavor-

ably in cost and efficiency with work done under private contract.

A. Ellinger, a member of the Federal Economic Council and of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Building Workers, gives this description of the Building Workers' plan for the elimination of direct governmental or municipal work while still retaining the "socialization" principle:

They asked that the Government and municipal authorities should create large building concerns, organized and conducted on business principles and in great measure independent of national or municipal parliaments; concerns which would be carried on, not by officials with assured pensions, but by efficient building experts engaged by private contract. These concerns must be organized essentially in the same way as a capitalistic building concern, with this difference, that the large scale concern would belong, not to a private person, but to the State or municipality. Consequently, the surplus value created by the workers would benefit, not an individual capitalist or a capitalistic association, but the community organized as a State or municipality.

In order to give the workers an interest in their output, the union proposed that Government and municipal building concerns should not engage building workers individually and employ them at hourly wages, but that they should hand over complete building contracts to associations, or co-operative societies of building workers, to be carried out at a fixed price.

The principle of the workers' co-operative building societies has been applied on municipal work in Nuremberg, Pforzheim, and other cities, with satisfactory results.

Nuremberg was the first city to

dispense with direct day labor on municipal work. E. Schrag, the Municipal Building Director, declares that with direct employment in excavation the output was so unsatisfactory and the work so costly that a new system was imperative. The employes actually worked but a fraction of the time for which they were paid, and the more industrious workers were derided by their less industrious fellows. As an experiment, the Nuremberg authorities organized a co-operative society of municipal workers and gave the next municipal job to it at fixed prices. According to Mr. Schrag, the result of the experiment was excellent:

This society has fulfilled the expectations it raised. Building operations have been started in which work is once more normally carried on with that industry which modern conditions require, and in which, up to the present, after six months' working, no stoppage or dispute has taken place.

GREAT SAVING IN COST

Other municipal operations were turned over to co-operative societies with equally satisfactory results. A comparison of costs incurred by the City of Nuremberg in its building operations under various direct employment and contract systems gives the following figures:

Job No. 1—Under direct employment by city officials this job cost 100,800 marks. If it had been done by the municipal workers' co-operative society the saving would have been 44,600 marks.

Job No. 2—The private contractor's tender was 64,000 marks. The co-operative society did the work for 54,000 marks.

Job No. 3—The private contractor's tender was 234,000 marks. The co-operative society completed the work for 195,000 marks.

In canal construction the co-operative societies did the work for from 25 to 33 per cent. less than the private contractor's bids.

Of the three methods of doing municipal work—private contract, direct municipal employment, or contracts awarded to workers' co-operative societies—Mr. Schrag concludes that direct city employment is the costliest method of construction, private contract the next costliest and

contracts to co-operative societies the cheapest. Work done by contractors, he finds, is from 15 to 20 per cent. more costly than the work done by co-operative societies. Direct employment on time wages has cost as much as 50 per cent. more. In Pforzheim private contractors charged the city from 37 to 42 marks per cubic foot of walling for the erection of municipal dwellings. The building workers' co-operative societies performed the work for 27 marks and made a profit of 10 marks per meter.

Since the Nuremberg and Pforzheim experiments, municipal and Government contracts are being awarded to building workers' societies on a large scale. Today there are over 100 such societies; some were set up by the municipal authorities, others were organized by the building industry workers.

When organized by the building industry workers the capital of the co-operative building associations is subscribed by the workers themselves and draws a maximum interest of 5 per cent. Surplus profits are placed in reserve funds and used in part for unemployment and relief work. The net surplus constitutes a social fund for the good of the community, and, in the case of dissolution of the society, must be applied to objects of public utility. The co-operative building societies have materially decreased the cost of housing and are liberally encouraged by both Government and municipal authorities.

MARTIN WAGNER'S PLAN

The second "socialization" plan is different. It is called the "Wagner plan," after its author, Martin Wagner, the Municipal Architect of Greater Berlin. Like the plan just described, it recognizes that the high cost of construction is the basic reason for the housing shortage. The high cost of housing, in turn, is rooted in the low labor output of the building industry workers. The crucial question, therefore, is, How can the labor output be increased?

It was Mr. Wagner's belief—a belief later adopted by the higher grade municipal architects—that an increase in labor output cannot be obtained under private enterprise because the worker has no interest in the yield of his labor and consequently takes little interest in his work. Under the old military state the German Government combined with the employers to compel the workers to speed up. But the military State is history; and giving the workers an interest in the yield of their labor is now the only way to increase the output. From his study of the problem Mr. Wagner concluded that private enterprise in the building industry should be rejected and a "socialized" industry developed in such a way that 100 per cent. of the workers' industrial energy would be mobilized.

Mr. Wagner originally outlined his plan before the Voluntary Socialization Commission convened in the Spring of 1919 by Mr. Beuster, President of the Housing Association of Greater Berlin. The commission was composed of experts in the building industry—Government representatives, architects, representatives from the Federal Ministry of Labor, &c. The plan, slightly modified, was later adopted by a congress of the higher grade municipal architects as the proper basis for the socialization of the building industry.

The Builders' Lodge Socialized Building Association of Berlin is the original Wagner plan association. It has a capital of 1,000,000 marks, furnished by the Marches Homesteads Building Society for Greater Berlin and the Province of Brandenburg. The Marches Homestead is itself an organization of the Prussian Government, the Province of Brandenburg and the municipality of Greater Berlin. The Berlin Building Lodge is therefore a State and municipal undertaking. It is entirely independent of the national, State, provincial and municipal parliaments. It is jointly administered by representatives of the State, the Province and the muni-

cipality—those who supplied the capital—and by representatives of the skilled and unskilled workers in the building trades—those who supply the labor.

The administration consists of the managers, a Board of Control and a Board of Directors. The managers are subject to the Board of Control. Three-fourths of the members of the Board of Control are selected by the capital-supplying organizations and one-fourth by the representatives of the workers—the labor-supplying organizations. The actual operations are conducted by the Board of Directors, consisting of the managers and representatives of the workers. The Board of Directors has complete control of building operations—employment, wages, labor regulations, contracts and so forth. The shareholders' meetings are the supreme authority, with power to discharge the Board of Control.

From one-tenth to one-twentieth of the net profits are set aside as a reserve fund. Out of the balance, not exceeding 5 per cent. interest is paid on the capital, 5 per cent. is devoted to the welfare fund, 20 per cent. may, in the discretion of the association, be applied to improvements, and the remainder is divided among all the employes, from managers to clerks and laborers, in proportion to their yearly salaries or wages.

SUCCESS OF NEW METHODS

Building associations on the Berlin plan have been organized in Stettin and Frankfort-on-Main. In Stettin the capital was furnished by the Public Utility Company for Workmen's Homes, neither the State nor the municipality participating as capital subscribers. In Frankfort the trade unions took an active part in the organization of the Wagner association and subscribed liberally to the capital. The local union of the National Union of Building Workers assessed its members one day's wages (42 marks) and purchased capital stock with the proceeds. In other parts of

Germany negotiations are on foot for the organization of similar large "socialized" building concerns.

In the Ruhr Valley housing construction for the coal miners is being financed by a coal tax. Otto Hue, former chief executive for the German Mine Workers' Federation, now the federation's representative on the national coal administration, thus describes the Ruhr Valley housing scheme:

In addition to the ordinary coal production tax of 20 per cent. of the ton price, the mines pay the Government a housing tax of 6 marks per ton of extracted coal, to be used as a subsidy for the construction of workmen's houses. The Minister of Finance transfers the money to the treasury of our Labor Construction Associations. These associations, which are organized locally and regionally, are co-operative joint-stock building societies of the building trades unions and are under trade-union management. The public powers usually contribute subsidies of so much per cubic meter of construction.

These building societies are much like the English "building guilds." The most significant results of their wide development are the elimination of middlemen in the building industry and the reduction of construction costs. The co-operative labor construction societies are one of the domains in which German trade union initiative has been most fruitful since the revolution of 1918.

The Federation of Socialized Building Concerns is also doing effective work in promoting the new "socialized" building industry program.

In 1920 the National Union of Building Workers appropriated 5,000,000 marks to forward the "socialization" movement. As a result of this financial stimulus ten building industry trade unions and a number of local socialized building societies organized the federation. The constitution of the federation defines its objects as the "establishment of public utility, co-operative and other building concerns not carried on for profit." This object is more definitely explained by a A. Ellinger, a member of the Executive Council of the Federation of Building Workers:

By establishing the Federation of Socialized Building Concerns, the unions of manual and brain workers in the building industry, as representatives of the whole body of building workers in Germany, have set themselves to carry out the socialization of the building industry in Germany. * * * If the Federal Government, States, and municipalities also do their part to promote this young community movement according to their powers, the peaceful organic transformation of the present capitalistic building industry into a socialized industry is only a question of time.

It is interesting to note that the building workers' "socialization" plans, as well as the Wagner plan, reject government and municipal ownership and operation of the building industry and substitute therefor self-governing service corporations largely independent of State parliaments and municipal councils.

FLEMISH VS. FRENCH IN BELGIUM

To the Editor of Current History:

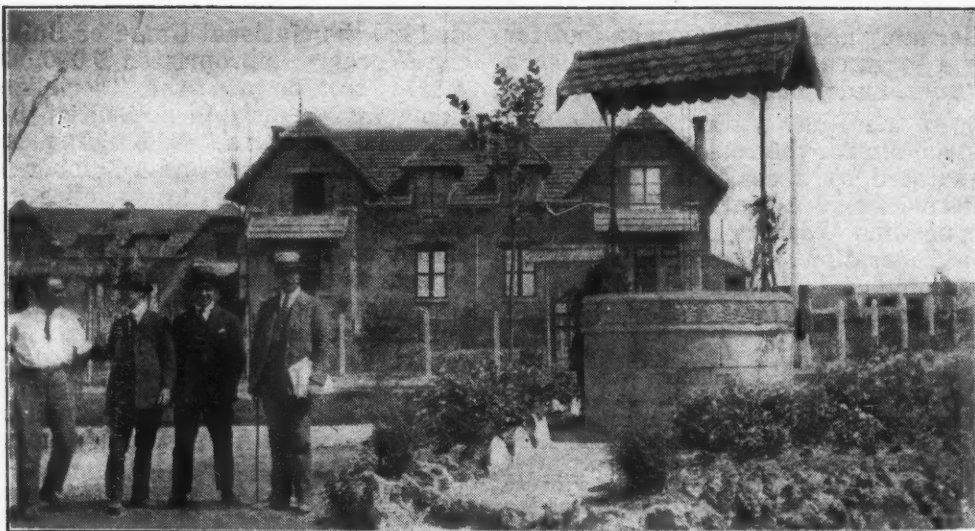
Under the caption "Belgium's Two Languages," in your January issue, you state that Flemish is the second national language. Permit me to state that the census of 1910, as reported in the Statesman's Year Book for 1921, does not confirm your statement. On pages 690-691 Belgium's population is placed at 7,423,784, of whom 3,220,662 spoke Flemish only, 2,833,334 spoke French only, and 871,288 spoke both

French and Flemish—the Flemish outnumbering the French by several hundred thousands.

THOMAS J. BRYANT.

New York, Jan. 2, 1922.

[The phrase quoted was used with no implication of inferiority as regards distribution; it was meant simply to convey the fact that, besides French—hitherto the official language—Belgium had another language, viz., Flemish, spoken predominantly in the regions described.—EDITOR.]



A glimpse of the beautiful new town of St. Quentin, rebuilt by a railroad company, with the artistic well in the foreground and some of the men who are doing the work

THE RESURRECTION OF DEVASTATED FRANCE

BY JACOB L. CRANE JR.

City Plan Engineer, Cambridge, Mass.

Progress in the vital problem of rebuilding the homes of five million people—Struggle for life on farms torn by shells and denuded of orchards—Ternier's thousands of new houses

NOT even five years of war could break the miraculous courage of the French people in the war zone. During the three desolate years since the war ended they have carried on bravely in the bitter struggle for life. The enemy, poverty, has been pitiless in this last battle, fought silently on the barren land which had been farms, and in the jobless towns of wrecked factories. Impelled by love for their own home land, a love which seemed not to diminish even though the homes themselves were destroyed, these four million stricken people, inarticulate and patient, hung on in desperation and hope.

But even with all their courage

they could not have persisted in the struggle except for the measure of agricultural and industrial rehabilitation accomplished during the first two years of peace. Nor could they have existed except for the temporary housing, meagre as it was, erected by the Government to shelter the most helpless ones.

The vast problem facing the French Government when the war ended may be estimated from the official figures issued by the Ministry of Reconstruction. In 1914 there were 4,700,000 inhabitants in the invaded zone. During the war 2,700,000 abandoned their homes to enter the army or to become refugees in other parts of

France, leaving in the devastated region less than half the former population—a dismal, poverty-stricken remnant. When the war was over, the first task of the Government was to review and tabulate the damage done to factories, farms, and homes.

In the industrial field practically every factory was partially dismantled or entirely destroyed. The coal mines had been the particular object of destruction, for the Germans realized that on them the economic vitality of France depended in a large measure. All told, 220 mining operations were rendered useless. They were flooded, dynamited, filled with waste materials, or set on fire. Their rehabilitation has been especially difficult and slow. The French estimate that these mines cannot be brought up to pre-war production before 1930, and on this calculation base their claim to German coal during the intervening years. In other important industries of the invaded district the degree of destruction ranged from 60 to 100 per cent. For example, the important sulphuric acid industry was 80 per cent. damaged, the sugar mills 90 per cent., iron foundries 80 per cent., and the textile mills were from 60 to 100 per cent. destroyed. Five thousand factories had been laid waste, and the entire vital productive capacity of the region reduced to a pitifully low figure.

Likewise agriculturally the north of France was reduced to a shadow of its normal productiveness. Four and a half million acres of land lay barren when the smoke cleared away—torn by shell holes, some so big that they had to be fenced off to keep stock from falling in; traversed by trenches, filled with shell, grenades, and all sorts of war refuse; wild and noxious weeds had sprung up, and in other places the soil was washed away. Orchards had been cut, barns destroyed, and equipment confiscated or wrecked. The land had to be leveled, cleaned thoroughly, and re-worked foot by foot; thousands of farm buildings had to be rebuilt, tens

of thousands of pieces of equipment replaced.

GRAPPLING WITH THE PROBLEM

The great problem of reconstruction in this country of desolation had two main aspects. In the first place all the people of France are dependent in an important degree upon the production of the farms, factories and coal mines of the North. It was necessary to repair the damage as rapidly as possible, for the welfare of all France. And secondly, a million people who had remained in the invaded territory were destitute because there was no work and no income for them, and, moreover, some 2,500,000 refugees were clamoring to return to their home communities, and indeed they did return long before there was cleared land or factory work to support them. Most pitiful of all, neither those who had remained nor the returned refugees had houses to live in. In a hundred towns not a single building remained standing. Here and there staggered gaunt walls, but for the most part only a dismal level of heaped brick and debris lined the partially cleared streets. All told, 2,600 towns were damaged, 300,000 houses were destroyed and 360,000 injured! Even if the farms and factories could be re-established, how could the people be provided with houses? How could these twenty-six hundred damaged towns and villages be rebuilt and their social life restored so that the workers and their families could again take up something approaching a normal life?

The problems were gigantic, but they were attacked boldly. For the restoration of Northern France the nation voted to pay all costs out of the State Treasury, which could be reimbursed with the German reparation payments when they were collected. Unfortunately, voting the money did not produce it. The funds which could be diverted to reconstruction from all possible sources were still meagre, and it was necessary to decide which of the reconstruction demands should first be met. A primary

consideration was that the people had to have work, and the country needed badly the products of their work; housing could wait. So railroad, industrial and agricultural reconstruction got the first money. Work was begun before the armistice was signed, on the heels of the northward-moving armies. And by the end of 1920 4,000,000 acres of farm land out of 4,500,000 which had been laid waste were cleared, and 3,000,000 acres placed again under cultivation. The industrial restoration was almost as rapid, so that now the industries, except for the coal mines, are back to 80 per cent. of their pre-war capacity. Four thousand establishments have been reconstructed. Thirty-five hundred miles of destroyed railroad are back in operation. Five hundred bridges, twelve tunnels, nearly six hundred stations and warehouses, and two thousand miles of telegraph were rebuilt on the railroad lines. Four hundred miles of canals have been repaired.

All this, an enterprise comparable in magnitude only to the war itself, took a vast amount of money, and when the rehabilitation had reached this point, the available funds were exhausted. Government support ceased, and the whole reconstruction

project slumped. This slump came before any house construction had been undertaken, except for a few temporary houses. In the meantime 1,500,000 refugees had returned. Four-fifths of the pre-war population is now there, employed in producing farm and factory goods which the rest of France needs critically. At least a third of them, a million people, are up to this moment living in dismal hovels built of refuse brick, of cast-off ammunition cases, or even of canvas. A number of towns are still a dead-level of wreckage where the houses stood, the little orchards are only shattered stumps, and the former gardens are humpy, weedy fields with scraps of shell and all sorts of war debris sticking out of the torn earth. No wonder the psychology of depression is taking hold of some of these people. Tourists going north from Paris may not guess the conditions in the completely destroyed places if they see only Rheims, Chateau-Thierry, and similar towns and do not see Saint Quentin, Tergnier, Montdidier, Albert and a few dozen others where the wreckage of the old towns has not even been cleared away.



Tergnier, France, as the war left it, a heap of pulverized ruins. The miracle of reconstruction accomplished near these ruins is shown on the opposite page

PROGRESS IN HOUSE BUILDING

Various emergency schemes have been proposed to remedy the deplorable living conditions in the unrestored communities, and although some of them have been tried out, none has proved generally successful. The intense provincialism or patriotism of the Frenchman will not let him use German-built houses offered in lieu of deferred reparation payments.*. The newly legalized co-operative building plan is not readily taken up by the individualist of North France, although an appreciable number of houses, both temporary and permanent, have been

constructed by co-operative societies.†. Municipal rebuilding is slow and uncertain in these disorganized communities. Only a few cities have been able to float bond issues and to start to build houses. Of course, the national reparations law provides that each property owner who rebuilds shall be paid the full cost of replacement at present prices. But most of the property holders have been waiting three years and still no reparation payment is forthcoming. It is no wonder that in face of these adversities a few people are selling their land and reparation rights for less than pre-war values and emigrating. The remarkable thing is that all but these few are hanging on with such loyal persistence for the sake of being in their own country.

But there are decidedly hopeful elements in the picture of slow domestic and social reconstruction. One of these is the movement to make the

*An Amiens correspondent of the Paris Temps wrote on Dec. 12, 1921, that the whole Somme Valley was in passionate debate over the Wiesbaden agreement, under which the French Government had agreed to accept reparation in kind from Germany, including the services of German labor associations in rebuilding French homes. When it came to the actual test of letting German workmen reconstruct Chaulnes and a dozen other towns in that neighborhood, French sentiment could not bear it. The Government had taken a popular vote on the subject last Summer, and 86 per cent. of the people had cast their ballots in favor of the plan, but in December, when the Prefect again put it to a vote, only 49 per cent. favored it. The other 51 per cent. decided against co-operating on equal terms with the men who three years ago were ravishing this same countryside. The Minister of Devastated Regions is thus compelled to find a new method for handling the reconstruction work in that part of Picardy.—EDITOR.

†The Chamber of Deputies last November authorized the Union of Building Societies to float a loan of 750,000,000 francs (normally \$150,000,000) for building 100,000 cheap dwellings before 1930. The Government guarantees the interest on the loan. Most of the buildings will be erected in the devastated regions, but about one-third will be put up in villages and towns near Paris.—EDITOR.



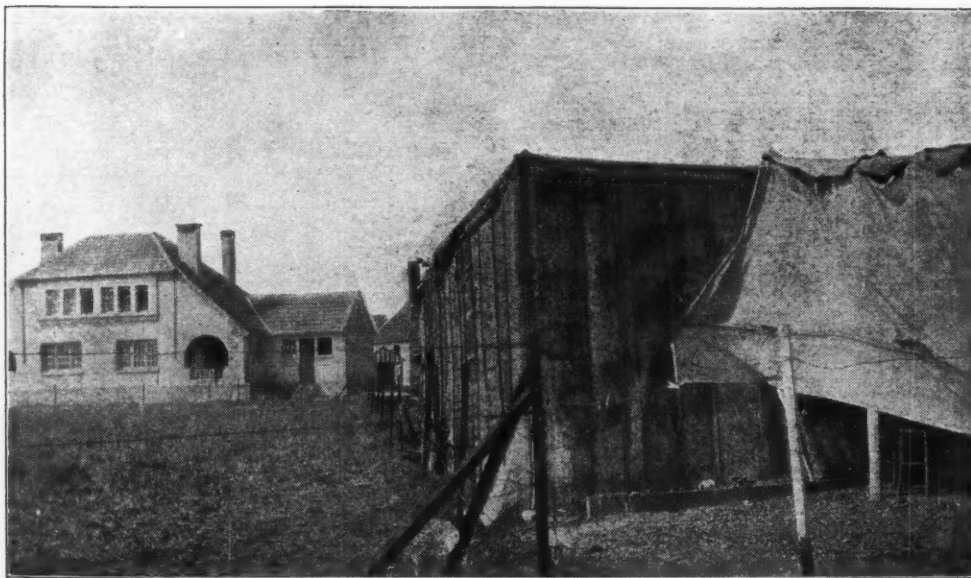
Panorama of Tergnier as it looks today, a wholly new town, built with all modern comforts, on farm land near the wreck of the old town

rebuilt towns better places to live in than they were before the war. The most important factor in this tendency is the national law passed in 1919 making city planning compulsory for every devastated town, as well as for every town of 10,000 population or over throughout France. This means that the resurrected communities will perforce have more efficient street and block plans, better sanitation, more and better parks and playgrounds, finer situations for public buildings, and, at the same time, that the old picturesque beauty will be preserved and enhanced by definite planning with this in view, instead of the old haphazard method of growth or rebuilding. An organization known as La Renaissance des Cites is helping the devastated towns in their planning under the new law. These public-spirited men and women, supported in their work by contributions from America, have had a new city plan drawn for Rheims, have held a competition for an ideal system of sanitation for Chauny, have helped in the plans for hundreds of other communities, and are now financing and directing the entire reconstruction of

Pinon as an ideal community after which other towns everywhere in France may be modeled.

EFFICIENT AMERICAN AID

As usual in places of distress, the Quakers are doing invaluable work. They have provided a few houses for the most needy, and have equipped many poverty-stricken households with furniture and utensils for re-beginning life. Similarly, the American Committee for Devastated France is doing significant work in social rehabilitation, directed and largely carried out by American women on the ground in the war zone. This committee, also with American funds, is supplying agricultural and domestic equipment, building school-houses, organizing play centres and health centres, repairing churches, and assisting French organizations for rehabilitation. Their work, while chiefly in the Department of the Aisne, will reach far beyond the time and place of its origin, for it is introducing into French social organization factors which will affect the future life of all France. Nothing is



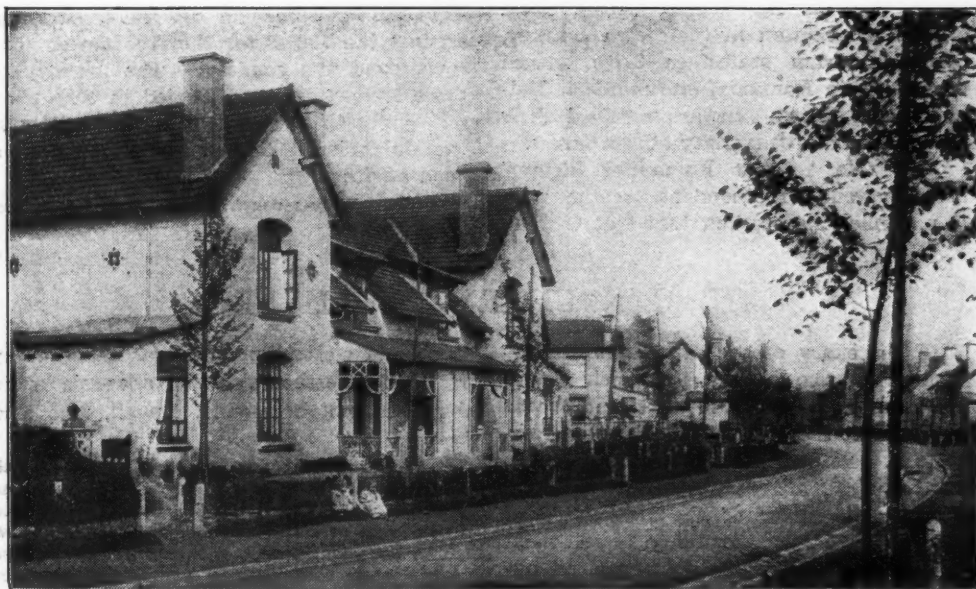
A corner of Tergnier, showing both temporary quarters and permanent new homes. Seven people are living in the shack at the right, waiting for the houses to be completed

being forced upon the people; the service of the committee is offered, and where it is eagerly taken up, as it has been without important exception, facilities are offered for going ahead with the work. The committee has established a tourist bureau at Laon, in the geographic centre of the devastated area, where visitors are conducted to the sights of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

One of the more unusual projects developed by the French is also being carried out here in the Department of the Aisne. The Marquise de Noailles, whose chateau near Blérincourt was the centre of five little villages, all of which were destroyed, has undertaken to reconstruct them entirely. There is consequently a rush to claim former residence in these towns, and an enthusiastic co-operative organization has been developed for helping in the work. American students of engineering, architecture and landscape architecture have also been working during the past few Summers, under the direction of the French Government, at Rheims, Soissons and other places.

Most of this work, however, is the

planning of reconstruction. The actual building of homes on a large scale has been done so far only by industries and by the Railway of the North. At Dourges a coal company has built an efficient, pleasant workmen's town, and in scattered communities over Northern France groups of houses built by employers are beginning to appear. But the projects of the Northern Railway are the largest rehousing enterprises now under construction. This railway, although one of the shortest in point of mileage, is the largest in France in the amount of traffic carried. It was rebuilt directly after the armistice, but it was of little use until it had arranged for adequate housing for its workmen at the places where the main shops were located. So far the company has completed or has under construction 11,000 houses in twenty-six communities. The largest project is at Tergnier, where nearly 1,500 houses are being built. The old town, a level of ruins, has been left behind, and in an open field a fine new village is now nearly completed. Carefully planned houses, lots and streets, public water supply and sewerage,



Tasteful homes in the resurrected French village of Dourge, built by a coal company for its employes near the ruins left by German shells

baths, gardens and playgrounds, a little park, cleanliness and airiness, distinguish this new town from the old type of French community. And its possibilities for picturesque beauty, far from being destroyed, are at many points increased by the carefully studied planning. The company is renting these houses so cheaply that it will receive less than 3 per cent. net on its investment. The work had to be done; it is inspiring to see it being done so well.

To be sure, these projects are merely the start of the tremendous task of permanent rehousing, which has lagged so far behind the rehabilitation of farms and industries. The Disarmament Conference in Washington may have an important bear-

ing on this work, if it makes it possible for France to divert battleship appropriations to the building of homes. The significant thing about the work done so far is its tendency toward better standards in French domestic and community life. The people who lived here before the war can never have their old places back, but their children will live in communities far better than the old ones. And slowly, but with the certainty of slow-growing things, the old air of peace and charm is returning to these stricken towns; even the foliage and greenery are reviving. In a hundred years the marks of the war will be gone, and from the destruction will have risen a new and more livable France.

A DEFENSE OF RUMANIA

BY I. I. SCHIOPUL

Formerly Deputy to the Rumanian National Assembly

To the Editor of Current History:

Your magazine for December prints a letter from a Bulgarian contributor, who attacks Rumania on several questions, and very unjustly, I think. He forgets that for many long years Rumania has been the asylum for all Bulgarians fleeing from political persecution in their own country. Many Bulgarian statesmen have earned their living in Rumania, and many of Bulgaria's best known scholars received their education at the University of Bucharest.

The "Ode to the Rumanian Army," quoted by your correspondent, together with the marginal note saying that "at Orhany

the Rumanian soldiers fled at the firing of a single rifle," would seem to imply that Rumanian soldiers are cowards. If this is the intention, it would be a mean insult to the memory of those many thousands of Rumanian soldiers who, in 1878, lost their lives at Plevna, in Bulgaria, fighting against the Turks for the freedom of your correspondent's country. The memory of those Rumanian dead, buried in Bulgarian soil, ought to be sacred to all, especially to the Bulgarian. Hatred has never been a good adviser.

340 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York, Dec. 12, 1921.

THE CENTENARY OF AMPERE

THE centenary of the memorable discoveries of the French physicist, André Marie Ampère (born 1775—died 1836), was celebrated at the Sorbonne in Paris on Nov. 25, 1921. Before President Millerand, M. Le Trocquer, Minister of Public works; M. Paul Appell, rector of the University of Paris, and a large assemblage of the most eminent scientific men of France, an address of eulogy of the great exponent of the

science of electrodynamics was delivered by M. Daniel Berthelot. Other addresses were delivered, notably by M. Appell, who said in part:

It is fitting that our country, lover of truth and humanity, should celebrate men such as Ampère, who have created a whole new world in the field of science, who have opened a new era in the development of humanity, and whose glory contributes to the prestige of France among the civilized nations of the earth.

THE NEW DEMOCRACIES OF EUROPE

BY RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

Procter Fellow of Politics, Graduate College, Princeton University

A comparative study of four new Constitutions of European States, revealing a significant effort to avoid faults of the American system—Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia

A SHORT time ago the President of a great American university declared publicly that the United States had contributed a form of government to the world which every European nation—wearied with continental inventions—would soon be forced to adopt; but little will be found in the Constitutions adopted by European countries since the war to justify this patriotic prophecy. Although Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia have adopted Constitutions, none of them follows the American type of Presidential government.

It is true that three out of the four nations to adopt new governments have provided themselves with a President. In Germany he is elected by the people; in Poland and Czechoslovakia by legislative bodies. The type, however, is not American, but French. None of these Chief Executives possesses the vast powers of President Harding; on the contrary, they exercise little more authority than Alexandre Millerand of France. Ministers must countersign the acts of these Presidents and of the King in Jugoslavia. The Ministers, in turn, are responsible to the legislative body, which may at any time drive them out of office by an adverse vote. The President or the King, therefore, can do nothing without the assent of a Cabinet intimately controlled by a Parliament which represents the people. The legislative power supervises the execution of laws as a board of

directors controls the management of a corporation.

These new Constitutions are democratic not only because they assure the constant control of the Government by popular means, but also because they provide for the widest possible suffrage. In Germany every man and woman over the age of 20 may vote. In Poland and Jugoslavia the age is 21. In Czechoslovakia every citizen may vote for members of the Chamber of Deputies at the age of 21 and for the Senate at the age of 26. In all these countries, with the possible exception of Jugoslavia, women are given the right to vote. In all provision is made for the representation of minorities, or proportional representation.

"GROUP" REPRESENTATION

Guild Socialists and others who advocate that geographic representation be displaced by the representation of interests, or "functions," will find little to encourage them in these new Constitutions. All four Governments have retained the geographic district as the basis of representation, and have not adopted that of the trade union, professional group, or Chamber of Commerce. None of these Governments has provided itself with a legislative body composed of industrial interests per se. The German National Council is composed of representatives of States; the Polish Senate, of Voyevodships, or local self-

governing districts; the Czech Senate, of the same constituencies as the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate having only one-half the number of members possessed by the lower house.

An effort was made in the German Constituent Assembly to secure the adoption of a professional Parliament (*Kammer der Arbeit*), composed of representatives of producers, whether employers or employed. This Parliament was to constitute a second chamber, sitting side by side with a political chamber. It was proposed to give it power to veto all legislation, whatever its nature, passed by the political assembly. Its veto could be overcome only by the passage by the political Parliament of the measure under discussion in three successive years. The professional Parliament was to have power to invoke the referendum against a law thus passed by the political Parliament; it was also competent to initiate legislation of a purely economic character.

The advocates of this professional second chamber were not strong enough, however, to overcome the objections raised against it. As a result, the theory of functional representation was recognized only partially by the creation of a National Economic Council, composed of representatives of employers and workers. But the powers of this body are largely advisory. The Government must submit to this council draft laws of an economic nature. The council has the right itself to propose such laws, and even to introduce them to the Reichstag against the will of the Government. But the council is given no legislative power.

The Polish Constitution also provides for a system of "economic self-government for the individual fields of economic life." A Supreme Economic Council, composed of representatives of the Chambers of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry, &c., and of labor organizations, in co-operation with the Government authorities, is to direct the economic life of the country, as limited by law. Provision for an Economic Council is also made

in the Constitution of Yugoslavia. These functional bodies fall far short of the ideal of this type of reformers. Doubtless the objections to a Government of interests are well founded, as even such a critic of our present system as Graham Wallas, in "Our Social Heritage," has been forced to point out. Yet it is to be regretted that none of the new Governments of Europe—with the exception, possibly, of Soviet Russia—has attempted to try the experiment. The value and the shortcomings of such an innovation cannot be determined by reason alone. Experience is a better teacher than logic.

LOWER HOUSE RULE

In fact, the whole idea of a second chamber, equal in strength to the lower body, has found little favor in the countries which have adopted new forms of government. Yugoslavia goes to the extent of making no constitutional provision for a Senate at all. In each of the other three Governments, in Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, though provision is made for a Senate, this body does not represent social or material privilege, but geographic divisions, such as the State of Voyevodship. Neither does it possess the same legislative power as the lower chamber.

According to the Constitution of Czechoslovakia, the Senate may introduce legislation equally with the Chamber, except in the case of army and budget bills. But by a three-fifths majority the Chamber may pass legislation of which the Senate does not approve. In Poland every bill passed by the Sejm (or lower house) must be submitted to the Senate for consideration. If within thirty days the Senate offers no objection to the bill, it becomes law. If it amends the bill, it is returned to the Sejm. The Constitution is silent in regard to cases where the Sejm refuses to accept the amendments of the Senate, but it is implied that the Sejm's decision in such a case is supreme. In Germany,

the National Council (Reichsrat) has the right to veto laws passed by the lower house (Reichstag). If the latter body refuses to acquiesce, the President of the republic within three months may refer the bill to a referendum, by which the people will decide on the adoption of the disputed legislation. But if the President does not order such a referendum, and if the Reichstag overrides the protest of the National Council by a two-thirds majority, the bill becomes law.

The use of the referendum itself in the German Constitution is another democratic provision. It may be used to recall the President before the expiration of his seven-year term of office. It may be invoked in such a case by a two-thirds vote of the Reichstag. Also the President may refer any law passed by the Reichstag to the people within one month. Furthermore, a referendum may be invoked if one-tenth of the qualified voters petition for the enactment of a specified law. However, if the Reichstag enacts the law desired, the referendum does not take place. Finally, in cases of deadlocks between the National Council and the Reichstag, the President may order the issue referred to the people. The referendum is also authorized in the Czechoslovak Constitution.

The referendum is an advance over the special election which is supposed to occur under a parliamentary government to decide an issue between the Prime Minister and the Legislative Assembly. In the case of a special election a thousand considerations will lead a voter to cast his lot for or against the Government in power—he may even lose sight of the issue upon which the election is held. But in the case of the referendum, the voter has only to pass on the merits of the particular issue. Consequently, the popular will is more intelligently determined, and Parliament does not run the risk of being unseated. At the same time there is no danger that a Ministry opposed to the majority in the Reichstag will be maintained in power, for the Constitution declares

that the Chancellor and other Ministers must resign as soon as the Reichstag—and not the Federal Council—withholds its confidence.

STANDING COMMITTEES

The theory of popular control, under a parliamentary form of government, is usually contradicted by the complete freedom of a Ministry when Parliament is not in session. For example, in France Parliament cannot be in session more than five months out of the year if the President wishes to dissolve it. During the intervals, the Government Ministers carry on the activities of government subject to no parliamentary supervision. To overcome this defect, three new Constitutions have adopted a device of far-reaching importance. This is the standing parliamentary committee, which continues in session when Parliament is adjourned, to survey the activities of the Government. In Czechoslovakia, this committee is known as the Committee of Twenty-four, composed of sixteen members chosen by the Chamber of Deputies and eight by the Senate, from their own membership. This committee has power to act on all matters of immediate urgency. It is competent to deal with all matters falling within the legislative and administrative powers of Parliament, except electing the President, amending the Constitution, levying permanent taxes or increasing military duties, and declaring war.

In Germany a provision is also made for a similar permanent committee, known as the Committee for Outside Affairs. Its activity is to be carried on "outside of the session and after the close of the election period until the reconvention of the new Reichstag."

The problem of racial minorities in these new States carved out of a Balkanized Europe has been difficult to solve. The Allies forced minority treaties on most of these States, guaranteeing a certain number of civil rights to minorities who otherwise would probably be oppressed.

But it is natural to believe that the most effective way of giving minorities a share in government and keeping them content would be by a Federal system of government in which local units would be sovereign in matters of local interest. But, very strangely, neither Poland, nor Czechoslovakia nor Yugoslavia has adopted the Federal form of government. In fact, the legislative powers of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia have been suppressed by the Constitution of Czechoslovakia. Special laws, however, will organize local self-governing bodies.

MEASURE OF DECENTRALIZATION

All these States are attempting to avoid the evils of an over-centralized "unitary" Government, not by Federalism, but by the system of decentralization. Poland is divided up into Voyevodships, districts, and urban and rural communes. Each of these units may elect a council, and administration is placed in the hands of locally elected boards upon which representatives of the Central Government also sit. Through Superior Self-Government boards, the central authorities supervise all local activities.

In Yugoslavia a very strong minority favored a Federal type of government. This would have permitted the entrance of Bulgaria, who asked such a union; but that idea was defeated. Instead, an elaborate system of regionalism was devised. These regions are to be defined by law according to economic and geographic delimitations. A region cannot contain more than 800,000 inhabitants. A High Governor (*Joupan*), appointed by the King, is placed at the head of each region and administers its affairs. At the same time a Regional Assembly is to have jurisdiction over such subjects as the finances, budget, public works, economic development, public health, social welfare and communication systems of the region. The High Governor has the right to veto any decision of the self-governing bodies which do

not accord with the Constitution or national laws. His veto is subject to review by the Council of State, the supreme administrative tribunal of the kingdom. By such a system, long advocated in France, the advantages of self-government may possibly be reconciled with the necessity of national unity—which is of supreme importance to these new nations because of disruptive racial elements within and bitterly hostile foes without.

Likewise in Germany, federalism is giving way to a more unified State. The Imperial German Empire was marked by the hegemony of Prussia, which provided the Emperor with a King and Chancellor, and which controlled seventeen out of the fifty-eight votes in the Bundesrat, or Federal Council—a number sufficient to defeat any constitutional amendment or any law in regard to the army, navy, or taxation. However, Bismarck realized the great difficulty of uniting States which differed so widely in interests as did Prussia and Bavaria. Consequently, he purchased the acquiescence of the twenty-four other States of the Federation by leaving to them many powers of government which in other federalisms are vested in the central authorities. The Federal Government was one strictly of delegated powers. Even the execution of Federal laws was left, for the most part, in the hands of State officers, an experiment which was tried in America under the Articles of Confederation, and which ignominiously failed. Furthermore, the German States were permitted to maintain their own army contingents, as well as diplomatic legations abroad. Prussian hegemony and State localism were the earmarks of the old empire.

PRUSSIA'S LOSS OF POWER

All this has now been changed. First, Prussia has lost, or soon will lose, its former influence. Professor Schucking declared recently in the National Assembly that "until 1867 Prussia has been against the empire;

from 1867 to 1918 Prussia has been above the empire; henceforth the empire must be above Prussia." The new German Constitution paves the way toward this end, first, by permitting the territorial dismemberment of Prussia. The boundary of any State may now be modified by a simple Government law. In case Prussia or any other State objects to the loss of part of its territory, the Reichstag may even then disregard its wishes, provided at least a majority of the total number of voters in the territory in question votes to join another State. By virtue of this authority, seven of the republics of Central Germany have united to form the new State of Thuringia, while Coburg has voted to join Bavaria. It is entirely possible that in the future Prussia also may lose part of its territory by such a means.

Prussia has also lost in power because the Emperor of Germany, who was Emperor of Prussia, has been dethroned; and because the great powers of the old Bundesrat, or Federal Council, which Prussia controlled, have been destroyed. Consequently, Germany has become, and in the future is likely still more to become, a nation representing the whole German people. But at the same time Prussia will long exercise a legitimate preponderance over the republic, inasmuch as four-sevenths of the total population of Germany is within her borders.

As for destroying localism generally, the German Constitution has also done much. The army has been placed under more strict Federal control. The Federal Government has secured the right to administer State railways, posts and telegraphs. In April, 1920, the Government bought up the State roads and placed them under Federal control. It has also obtained control over State finances, for the States now must live virtually on subsidies from Berlin. The administration of Federal laws is still vested generally in State officials, but in cases where the Federal Government has the exclusive right of legis-

lation it may provide for the execution of its laws by Federal agents. There can be no question of secession, because the Constitution declares that Government law transcends State law, and that if a State does not carry out the duties laid down by the Constitution or laws, "the President of the republic may hold it to such fulfillment with the aid of armed power."

JUDICIAL AND OTHER FEATURES

Of the other features of these Constitutions deserving of notice, one of the most important is the provision for administrative courts. These courts, which try cases in which State authorities are alleged to have overstepped their power, are established in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Social legislation, especially in regard to agrarian reform, constitutes a considerable part of the Constitutions of Yugoslavia and Germany. Provisions of this nature were not to be found in the old Constitutions, which, for the most part, limited themselves to questions of political rather than social science.

Religion has also proved in some States a difficult problem to solve. Only one of these States has set up an official religion. In Poland, Roman Catholicism occupies "the chief position among enfranchised religions"; but religious freedom is guaranteed within the limits of public order and morality. While only one State has thus set up a State religion, two States have disestablished such a relationship. In Germany no State Church is recognized, but religious organizations are given complete independence in administering their affairs. They also have the right to tax their members. The former obligation of the Government to share in the expenses of the established Church is no longer recognized. (Likewise in Russia the Church has been officially separated from the State.)

In Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, both Greek Orthodox and Roman

Catholic members are found in large numbers. A State Church was therefore impossible. In Yugoslavia the Constitution provides for religious liberty. Faiths obliged to communicate with a religious head outside of the State are permitted to do so, subject to the limitations of law. The Constitution does not prevent the financial support of religions by the State, but it does say that in case such support is given, it must be divided between the different recognized faiths according to the number of their members and needs. In Czechoslovakia the Constitution provides for the equality of all religions before the law and for religious freedom. No one can be compelled to participate in a religious ceremony.

Such are the outstanding features of the new Constitutions of Europe. They are the product of an earnest effort to provide these countries with

a form of government that will embody the best in political thought and that will reflect the popular will. None of these new Constitutions follows the American system of government. This should indeed be a subject of concern, because the rejection of the presidential type must be due to some deep-laid objections to the manner in which it operates. In formulating their own systems, the new democracies of Europe have called attention unconsciously to the defects of our Federal system: the inefficiency and irresponsibility of those who enforce the law; the deadlocks between executive and legislative power; the overshadowing influence of the Senate. These characteristics deserve the serious attention of every American who does not wish his country to lag behind the nations of Europe in providing itself with a system of government worthy of the people it is designed to represent.

FRANCE AND THE ARMENIANS

To the Editor of Current History:

Anent the treaty recently concluded between the French Government and the Turkish Nationalists, and the consequent withdrawal of the French army of occupation from Cilicia, Premier Briand, in a letter addressed to the President of the Armenian National Delegation in Paris, states that Armenians fleeing from Cilicia are given permission by the French to take refuge temporarily in Syria, the British having refused to admit them into Palestine, Egypt, or Cyprus.

This the Premier cites as evidence of French generosity. Ostensibly he ignores the fact that this same Franco-Turkish Treaty, made in violation of the inter-allied agreement, left the Armenians no

alternative between subjection to their ancient persecutors (which meant probable annihilation) and flight from their homeland.

Cable messages from Cilicia state that the passport stations are surrounded by immense crowds of Armenian men, women and children. These refugees have either abandoned their property or sold it for a song, and are waiting in the open, day after day, in the hope of securing permission to leave. The scenes of panic and misery recall the tragic days during the deportations of 1915.

ARMENIAN NATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA.

401 Old South Building, Boston, Mass., Jan. 3, 1922.

[COMMUNICATIONS]

BULGARIA'S TREACHERY

BY CAPTAIN G. GORDON-SMITH

To the Editor of Current History:

In addition to those contributors in preceding numbers of *CURRENT HISTORY*, Bulgaria, in your issue of December last, is fortunate enough to find no fewer than three more defenders. These writers persist in denying Bulgaria's treachery, both in 1913 and 1915. One of them declares that in 1915 "Bulgaria was a free and independent State, free to act as she chose." This is an argument which nobody can gainsay, provided always that Bulgaria is willing to abide by the consequences of her choice. What is irritating is that, having taken the German side and opposed the Allies and the United States, she expects that, because she was beaten, a sponge will be passed over the slate and that we will forget and forgive. She should remember that the first condition of the absolution of sins is sincere repentance.

Of this repentance I can discover no trace. On the contrary, all that one finds is a denial of guilt. Bulgaria tries to pose as a victim, not a criminal. One of your Bulgarian contributors declares that in 1913 "Bulgaria was at war with her former allies, trying to make them observe the sanctity of their treaties." When one reads such a statement in connection with Bulgaria one asks one's self if one is dreaming.

I know nothing more extraordinary in the domain of history than the continual attempts made by Bulgarian writers to deny the treachery of that State, both in 1913 and 1915. If any doubt whatever existed as to the guilt of Bulgarian statesmen, this denial might be comprehensible. But as this can be proved up to the hilt by means of official documents, most of them Bulgarian, these continual denials by Bulgarian contributors make it almost a duty to lay at least the list of these documents before its readers and once for all destroy the legend of Bulgaria's innocence.

As it is impossible in the short space at my disposal to cite these documents in extenso, I will have to give them in the shortest possible summary and indicate their source, so that any students interested

in this phase of European history can consult the documents themselves.

The point of departure is naturally the treaties of friendship and alliance entered into between the Balkan States. That between Serbia and Bulgaria was signed at Sofia on Feb. 29, 1912, and was completed by a secret annexe, signed the same day, a military convention (signed at Varna, June 19, 1912,) and two agreements between the General Staffs (signed at Sofia, Sept. 15, 1912).

The first mentioned treaty and secret annexe provided for the division of the Turkish territory captured in case of victory. It further provided that in case of disagreement *both powers would accept the arbitration of the Czar of Russia.*

A second treaty, in similar terms, was signed at Sofia on May 12, 1912, by Bulgaria and Greece and completed by a military convention signed at Sofia Sept. 22, 1912.

After the victory over Turkey, Bulgaria began putting forward exaggerated claims to territory. **They were resisted by Serbia and Greece and these Governments, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, proposed that the controversy be submitted to the Czar for his arbitration.** Reports of this attitude on the part of Bulgaria reached Petrograd and led M. Sazonoff to address a stern warning to Bulgaria, informing her that *she could not count on the aid or sympathy of Russia if she failed to keep her treaty engagements.* (Dispatch dated Petrograd, April 28, 1913. "Collection of Diplomatic Documents (Russian) Concerning Events in the Balkan Peninsula," No. 155, pp. 107 and 108.)

That there was good reason for this warning is proved by the fact that on April 4, 1913, a Bulgarian Ministerial Council had determined to *negotiate secretly with Turkey for a separate peace and, leaving in Thrace only the effectives strictly necessary for its defense, to attack, with the rest of the army, their Serbian and Greek allies.* ("The Truth About the Catastrophe," by General Savoff, Bulgarian Commander in

Chief, published in the Dnevnik, No. 4219, June 12, 1914.)

On April 21, 1913, a telegram was sent by M. Guechkoff, the Premier, to General Savoff, asking how long it would take to concentrate the Bulgarian armies against Serbia and Greece. (Telegram No. 974, in Bulgarian Foreign Office Archives.) The reply by General Savoff (April 23) indicated that from twenty-five to thirty-five days were necessary. (Telegram No. 3779.)

That this idea of a treacherous attack on Serbia and Greece had long been germinating in the Bulgarian mind is proved by a letter from General Savoff, dated as far back as March 8 and addressed to King Ferdinand, in which Savoff openly advocated a secret peace with Turkey and an attack on Serbia and Greece. ("Diary of General Savoff," published by the Dnevnik (No. 4219), June 12, 1914.)

The King replied by telegraph the same day, promising to take up the question of an attack on Greece and Serbia, but only after the capture of Adrianople, for which the Bulgarians had need of the support of the Serbian heavy artillery.

The ever-growing anxiety as to Bulgaria's attitude led the Russian Government to propose a general demobilization of the armies of the Balkan States. To this M. Pashitch, the Serbian Premier, at once consented. (Dispatch from M. Hartwig, Russian Minister at Belgrade. See "Collection of Diplomatic Documents (Russian) Concerning Events in the Balkan Peninsula," No. 149, p. 103.)

Though pretending to the Russian Government that it was ready to accept the proposal of demobilization, the Bulgarian Government really opposed it. (Decision of a Ministerial Council held on Easter Tuesday, April 29, 1913.) This council was attended by Generals Savoff and Fitcheff. On May 3, 1913, M. Hartwig, Russian Minister in Belgrade, telegraphed his Government that M. Pashitch greatly prized the alliance with Bulgaria and had assured him that *Serbia was ready to undertake a friendly revision of the treaty.* ("Diplomatic Documents (Russian) Concerning Events in the Balkan Peninsula," No. 163, pp. 113 and 114.)

On May 18 a telegram was sent by General Savoff advocating an immediate attack on the Serbian and Greek armies. The

following day General Savoff sent another telegram to M. Guechkoff. Its text, quoted from the "Diary of General Savoff," Dnevnik, No. 4223, June 15, 1914, is as follows:

War with the Serbs and Greeks is inevitable.

Any concessions made to our enfeebled allies would excite great discontent in the ranks of our army, and nothing could stifle it. On the other hand is the question of the future of our country. One asks one's self, who will have the hegemony of the Balkan Peninsula? The moment has come to profit by the advantages with which our allies themselves have furnished us in this struggle, and to concentrate on it all our efforts. A victorious war will settle definitely the question of the hegemony in our favor. A year or two from now it will be too late; Europe itself would oppose it. This is why, in my opinion, we ought to make use of all the ruses and all the means at our disposal to arrive at an armed conflict with our allies, while at the same time disclaiming all responsibility for it. When we will have inflicted a decisive defeat on them we will remove all possibility on the part of our enemies of creating in the future obstacles to the realization of our national ideal. According to my idea, we would commit an irreparable error if we let slip the favorable opportunity we now have.

According to information which I possess regarding our future operations, in four days at the most the Greeks will find themselves under the necessity of breaking with the Serbs and asking for a separate peace in order to escape defeat. Then our whole effort can be directed against Serbia. The Serbian Army could not at any point resist a sudden attack by our powerful columns.

(Signed) Lieutenant General SAVOFF.
Adrianople, May 19, 1913.

On May 29 General Savoff declared that he required thirty days to prepare the attack on Serbia and Greece, and that "he counted on Bulgarian diplomacy to gain him this breathing space," so that he might prepare this treacherous attack on Bulgaria's allies.

When the critical moment came M. Guechkoff's courage failed him and he resigned. M. Daneff became Premier. Events now began to move rapidly. On June 26 and June 27 urgent orders were telegraphed to the commanders of the various Bulgarian armies to attack Bulgaria's allies all along the line at midnight on the night of June 29, 1913. The attack was made with full force, and the Greeks and Serbians, being taken completely by surprise by this

act of treachery, were hurled back to a great distance from the position they held.

Boiling with indignation at this treacherous attack, the Serbs and Greeks counter-attacked in their turn and with such success that they completely routed the Bulgarians. Then Rumania intervened and marched on Sofia, while Turkey "came back" in her turn and recaptured Adrianople. Bulgaria was then, as the result of

her treachery, forced to sign the Treaty of Bucharest.

Such is the story of Bulgaria's treason as told in Bulgarian, Russian and Serbian State documents. I think it forever disposes of Bulgaria's claim that she was attacked in 1913 by her allies without due cause.

The Chateau-Thierry, Twentieth and S Streets, Washington, D. C., Dec. 30, 1921.

MONTENEGRO'S UNION WITH SERBIA

By V. P. BOURITCH

To the Editor of Current History:

I note that a correspondent in your December issue serves up afresh the old legend that the Montenegrins were "subdued by the tyrannical Yugoslav Government."

The union of Montenegro with Yugoslavia was the free act of the people. Immediately after the armistice the elections for the Grand National Assembly took place in Montenegro. The Assembly was summoned at Podgoritz on Nov. 26, 1918. On that memorable date the people of Montenegro unanimously proclaimed the union with Serbia, and, incidentally, with the other Yugoslav provinces. Ex-King Nicholas and his dynasty were deposed and accused of having betrayed and delivered the people and the army to the enemy. These elections compare favorably with any previous voting under the reign of Nicholas, whose specialty in "faking" every election held in Montenegro before the war is well known to all acquainted with that country. This is confirmed by the report of an Inter-allied Commission under Generals Franchet d'Esprey and Bridges.

The suggestion that the electors were intimidated by the Serbian army of occupation is a mere invention. The forces which, after the armistice, advanced into Montenegro consisted, in addition to some French detachments, of about 2,000 Yugoslav volunteers from America. When the dissolution of the Austrian Army set in the Montenegrin population lost no time in arming itself to the teeth. Since then it has remained armed, and if the Montenegrins were opposed to unity with Serbia, or if they took up this attitude today, the few battalions

of Serbian soldiers would not be able to remain in Montenegro for twenty-four hours; still less would they be able to exercise any pressure on the population. But the fact is that the former high command and senior officers in Montenegro, including a brother and a cousin of the Queen of Montenegro, have without pressure accepted the fusion of Montenegro in Yugoslavia. The same applies to all the administrative officials and the whole people.

Nicholas's hopes were crushed by the results of the elections for the Constituent Assembly of Yugoslavia, which were held in Montenegro on Nov. 28, 1920. These elections proved disastrous for the ex-King. The Montenegrins showed once more that they were firm for the union. Out of 37,000 electors, more than 27,000 voted. Ten Deputies were elected, of whom four are Communists, two Democrats, two Republicans, one Radical and one Independent. The ex-King's party is not represented. The British Government has its own evidence that the people of Montenegro freely expressed their wishes, as British officials were present during the elections. And the fact that the French Government has recalled its diplomatic and consular representatives shows plainly that France was more than satisfied with the result.

As regards the charges of atrocities committed by Serbian soldiers, these were investigated by the British Government, and the Foreign Office issued a report that the stories were the work of partisans of the ex-King and were "sheer inventions."

1519 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., Jan. 5, 1922.

MACEDONIA AND THE GREEKS

BY CONSTANTINE D. KOJOUHAROFF

Member of the Bulgarian National Historical and Geographical Societies

To the Editor of Current History:

The stand taken by certain pro-Greek contributors to your magazine does not correspond with the facts of the Macedonian question. These facts may be summarized as follows:

1. Ethnically, Macedonia, in its geographical limits, is not a Greek, but a Bulgarian, province. The Greeks form an insignificant minority, which holds third place among the ethnic groups, and consists mainly of "Greekomans" recruited through threats and force by Greek propaganda and the Greek Patriarchate. Greek aspirations to Macedonia are based purely on a policy of conquest. The Greeks have always desired the partition of Macedonia, and opposed autonomy or the principle of self-determination. Greek terror-rule in Macedonia—inhuman persecution of the population—has forced large numbers to seek refuge in Bulgaria, and this was the object sought by the Greeks. Confirmation of these statements will be found in H. N. Brailford's book, "Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future," pp. 114, 198, 130, 197, 199, and passim; in de Laveley's "Balkan Peninsula"; in the Report of the Carnegie Commission on the Balkan Wars (1913, p. 13); in Pouquerville's "Voyage dans la Grèce," p. 346; in the *Courrier d'Orient*, Constantinople, 1878; in the *Paris Temps* (No. 15950), and in Lebedev's "Souvenirs d'un Volontaire Russe." Only lack of space prevents me from citing other confirmations, including my own personal experience, of the truth of the propositions above laid down.

The Greeks, in a systematic manner, continue to present the Macedonian question to the world in a light favorable to their imperialism. The Greek dread of revision in respect to the settlements of Macedonia and Thrace has forced the Greeks to send a delegation to Washington, headed by Mr. Cassavetes, to be on the ground when the Bulgarian Premier arrives, and has led them to represent the Macedonians to the American public as a flock of sheep without national consciousness.

There was a time when Greece was

modest in her pretensions. After the first Balkan war (1912), Venizelos expressed the desire to reach an understanding with Bulgaria against Serbia, by which Greece was to obtain Saloniki with a small hinterland large enough to protect the city from artillery. The Bulgarian Government declined to consider the proposition and Venizelos concluded a treaty with Serbia against Bulgaria, providing for the partition of Macedonia. In Bucharest (1913), during the peace negotiations after the Balkan War, Venizelos declared that he himself was opposed to Greek annexation of Seres, Drama and Cavalla, but that King Constantine, through the Kaiser, insisted upon their annexation.

At the Paris Conference, Venizelos had changed his policy, and, in placing Greece under British influence, as a tool of the latter in the Balkans, he gained for Greece nearly all of Thrace; but he did not have the courage to state that Greece had any legitimate claim to these territories. He expressed himself as follows: "I am already in a position to take Thrace, as Bulgaria is no longer dangerous."

Greece has always been associated with a policy of conquest far exceeding her strength, and her difficult situation today is the result of an imperialistic program, with favorable elementary natural conditions lacking; that program has already ended in failure and disappointment. Natural geographic conditions in Asia Minor foretold Greek failure even before the Treaty of Sèvres had been enforced. More success has attended the Greeks in Macedonia and Thrace, but this does not mean that Greece has permanently acquired these provinces, no matter what extraordinary measures are used to subdue the populations. These populations are bitterly opposed to Greek rule, and, in spite of oppression, will struggle for that autonomy of Macedonia and Thrace which is the legitimate and permanent solution of the Balkan question. Until then, the Balkans will remain a menace to peace in Europe.

1412 Massachusetts Av., Washington, D. C.,
Dec. 17, 1921.

INDIA'S MOHAMMEDANS AND TURKEY

BY S. B. DERANIAN

To the Editor of Current History:

In your December issue you published an article entitled "India's Movement Against British Rule," in which the author—a native of India—cited as one of the chief causes of India's hostile spirit to Great Britain the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire by the Allies, and especially by the British, who are now in possession of Mesopotamia and Palestine.

Your contributor condemns British policies in the Near East—that is, in Turkey—with no basic reason. He fails to consider that from the beginning of Turkish rule up to the present, Turkey has been unable to govern herself; that she has not safeguarded the rights of the minorities inhabiting her boundaries for the last 600 years; that she has stood against all modern civilization by force of arms. Why does your correspondent ignore the greatest crime of the war—Turkey's shedding of innocent blood throughout the Turkish Empire, from the coast of the Black Sea to the shores of the Red Sea, from the Strait of Marmora to the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers? The British Indian soldiers themselves, as they fought gallantly on the battlefields of Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria with the victorious British armies, witnessed these massacres and their results. Does the world wish to leave the unprotected Christian minorities in the power of these Turkish brutes?

I do not question the good faith of the Mohammedans of India, but I regret to say that their judgment seems to have been warped by their sympathy for their co-religionists in Turkey. This bias makes

them blind to the bloody deeds of Abdul Hamid in 1895 and to the bloody persecutions of the Christians in 1908 and 1914 by Abdul's followers, Hamal, Talaat Bey and Enver Pasha. Nor do they properly weigh the certainty that, once the Turks have triumphed over the defenseless Christians, the last remnants of the Christian race in Turkey will be butchered in cold blood. This makes it clear that the Christian world of the West must refuse all moral support to the Turkish cause.

Your contributor describes the origin of the Caliphate, and its qualifications to control the three former Turkish provinces, namely, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, now under the joint control of Great Britain and France. How can such qualifications be attributed to a power whose main aim and ambition has been to loot and massacre? History shows plainly that Babylon and Damascus made no progress under the retrogressive Turkish rule. Turkey always stood as a barrier against utilizing the natural resources of the empire under modern methods. Instead of serving the empire, she turned it into a shambles, committing crimes of every description on innocent men, women and children who were her subjects. It was in consequence of the continuance of these conditions and the discontent of the provinces mentioned that Great Britain, acting under the clauses of the Treaty of Sèvres, occupied Mesopotamia and Palestine, in order to give an opportunity to the unfortunate inhabitants to regain their rights as human beings, which the Turks had so long denied them, and for which they had so long and so vainly striven.

Boston University, Dec. 28, 1921.

WHAT THE TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS MEAN TO CHINA

Thomas F. Millard's presentation of the official text of a famous document side by side with a paraphrase that shows how the treaty might read if it had been forced upon the United States instead of upon China

THE Japanese delegates at the arms conference have repeatedly stated that the policy of Japan is in no sense threatening to China, and is not conceived in a spirit of aggression upon the territorial integrity and political autonomy of China. How nearly do the famous "Twenty-one Demands" of 1915 square with that statement? These demands have never been withdrawn; they are still an index to Japan's real attitude. In order to make their meaning clear to American readers, Thomas F. Millard, former editor of Millard's Review, Shanghai, has paraphrased each article as it might read if Japan had forced it upon the United States instead of upon China. This startling paraphrase, side by side with the official text of the Twenty-one Demands, is published in pamphlet form by the Weekly Review of the Far East, an American owned and edited magazine issued at Shanghai in behalf of the economic, political and social development of China.

When the war broke out in 1914 the Japanese military forces—against China's protest—occupied the territory of the German leasehold on Kiao-Chau Bay, in Shantung Province, and extended their control over almost the whole area of the province. This was the situation when, on Jan. 18, 1915, the Japanese Minister at Peking, acting under instructions from his Government, privately presented to the Chinese Government a series of proposals in five groups and twenty-one articles. The text of these famous demands, in the official English translation made by the Chinese Government and confirmed officially in various ways, is given herewith in the left-hand column, headed "The Real Demands." In the right-hand column Mr. Millard has adopted a simple device for making the true meaning plain to American readers; he has paraphrased each article, translating it into terms of American life corresponding with those of China. The two versions follow:

THE REAL DEMANDS.

I.
The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, being desirous of maintaining the general peace in Eastern Asia and further strengthening the friendly relations and good neighborhood existing between the two nations, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The Chinese Government engages to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of all rights, interests and concessions which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses in relation to the Province of Shantung.

ARTICLE 2. The Chinese Government engages that within the Province of Shantung and along its coast no territory or island will be ceded or leased to a third power under any pretext.

ARTICLE 3. The Chinese Government consents to Japan building a railway from Chefoo or Lungkow (in Shantung) to join the Kiao-Chau-Tsingtau Railway.

THE DEMANDS PARAPHRASED.

I.
The Japanese Government and the Government of the United States of America, being desirous of maintaining the general peace in the Pacific Ocean and further strengthening the friendly relations and good neighborhood existing between the two nations, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The Government of the United States of America engages to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of all rights, interests and property which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses in relation to the State of California.

ARTICLE 2. The American Government engages that within the State of California and along its coast no territory or island will be ceded or leased to a third power under any pretext.

ARTICLE 3. The American Government consents to Japan building a railway from a port in California to be selected by Japan to join the Southern Pacific Railway System.

ARTICLE 4. The Chinese Government engages, in the interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open by herself as soon as possible certain important cities and towns in the Province of Shantung as commercial ports. What places shall be opened is to be jointly decided (by Japan and China) in a separate agreement.

II.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, since the Chinese Government has always acknowledged the special position enjoyed by Japan in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties mutually agree that the term of the lease of Port Arthur and Dalny and the term of the lease of the South Manchurian Railway and the Antung-Mukden Railway shall be extended to the period of 99 years.

ARTICLE 2. Japanese subjects in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia shall have the right to lease or own land required either for erecting suitable buildings for trade and manufacture or for farming.

ARTICLE 3. Japanese subjects shall be free to reside and travel in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia and to engage in business of any kind whatsoever.

ARTICLE 4. The American Government engages, in the interest of trade and for the residence of foreigners, to open, as soon as possible, certain important cities and towns in the State of California as commercial ports. What places shall be opened is to be decided in a separate agreement.

II.

The Japanese Government and the American Government, since the American Government has always acknowledged the special position enjoyed by Japan in Alaska and in the States of Oregon and Washington, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties mutually agree that the term of the lease to Japan of the Port of Seattle and of the Alaskan and Northern Pacific Railways shall be extended to the period of 99 years.

ARTICLE 2. Japanese subjects in the States of Oregon and Washington, and Alaska, shall have the right to lease or own land required either for erecting suitable buildings for trade and manufacture or for farming.

ARTICLE 3. Japanese subjects shall be free to reside and travel in the States of Oregon and Washington, and Alaska, and to engage in business of any kind whatsoever.

ARTICLE 4. The Chinese Government agrees to grant to Japanese subjects the right of opening the mines in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. As regards what mines shall be opened, they shall be decided upon jointly.

ARTICLE 5. The Chinese Government agrees that in respect of the (two) cases mentioned herein below the Japanese Government's consent shall be first obtained before action is taken:

(a) Whenever permission is granted to the subject of a third power to build a railway or to make a loan with a third power for the purpose of building a railway in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

(b) Whenever a loan is to be made with a third power pledging the local taxes of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia as security.

ARTICLE 6. The Chinese Government agrees that if the Chinese Government employs political, financial or military advisers or instructors in South Manchuria or Eastern Inner Mongolia, the Japanese Government shall first be consulted.

ARTICLE 7. The Chinese Government agrees that control and management of the Kirin-Changchun Railway shall be handed over to the Japanese Government for a term of 99 years dating from the signing of this agreement.

ARTICLE 4. The American Government agrees to grant to Japanese subjects the right of exploitation of the mineral resources in the States of Oregon and Washington and Alaska. As regards what resources shall be exploited, they shall be decided upon jointly.

ARTICLE 5. The American Government agrees that in respect of the (two) cases mentioned the Japanese Government's consent shall be first obtained before action is taken:

(a) Whenever permission is granted to the subject of a third power to build a railway or to make an international loan for the purpose of building a railway in the States of Oregon and Washington, and in Alaska.

(b) Whenever a loan is to be issued for international subscription pledging the local taxes of the States of Oregon and Washington, or Alaska, as security.

ARTICLE 6. The American Government agrees that if the American Government employs political, financial or military advisers or instructors in Oregon, Washington, or Alaska, the Japanese Government shall first be consulted.

ARTICLE 7. The American Government agrees that control and management of the Oregon Short Line Railway shall be handed over to the Japanese Government for a term of 99 years dating from the signing of this agreement.

III.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, seeing that Japanese financiers and the Hanyehping Company have close relations with each other at present and desiring that the common interests of the two nations shall be advanced, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties mutually agree that when the opportune moment arrives the Hanyehping Company shall be made a joint concern of the two nations and they further agree that without the previous consent of Japan, China shall not by her own act dispose of the rights and property of whatsoever nature of the said company nor cause the said company to dispose freely of same.

ARTICLE 2. The Chinese Government agrees that all mines in the neighborhood of those owned by the Hanyehping company shall not be permitted, without the consent of the said company, to be worked by other persons outside of the said company; and further agrees that if it is desired to carry out *any undertaking* which, it is apprehended, *may directly or indirectly affect the interests of the said company, the consent of the said company shall first be obtained.*

III.

The Japanese Government and the American Government, seeing that Japanese financiers and the United States Steel Corporation and its associated industries have close relations with each other at present and desiring that the common interests of the two nations shall be advanced, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. The two contracting parties mutually agree that when the opportune moment arrives the United States Steel Corporation and its associated industries shall be made a joint concern of the two nations and they further agree that without the previous consent of Japan the American Government shall not by its own act dispose of the rights and property of whatsoever nature of the said corporation and its associated industries, nor permit the said corporation to dispose freely of same.

ARTICLE 2. The American Government agrees that all mines in the neighborhood of those owned by the United States Steel Corporation and its associated industries shall not be permitted, without the consent of the said corporation, to be worked by other persons outside of the said corporation; and the American Government further agrees that if it is desired to carry out any undertaking which, it is apprehended, may directly or indirectly affect the interests of the said corporation, the consent of the said corporation shall first be obtained.

IV.

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, with the object of effectively preserving the territorial integrity of China, agree to the following special article:

The Chinese Government engages not to cede or to lease to a third power any harbor or bay or island along the coast of China.

V.

ARTICLE 1. The Chinese Central Government *shall* employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs.

ARTICLE 2. Japanese hospitals, churches and schools in the interior of China shall be granted the right of owning land.

ARTICLE 3. Inasmuch as the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government have had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Chinese to settle, cases which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the police departments of important places (in China) shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese, or that the police departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese so that they may at the same time help to plan for the improvement of the Chinese police service.

IV.

The Japanese Government and the American Government, with the object of effectively preserving the territorial integrity of the United States, agree to the following special article:

The American Government engages not to cede or to lease to a third power any harbor or bay or island along the coast of the United States.

V.

ARTICLE 1. The American Government at Washington, D. C., *shall* employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs.

ARTICLE 2. Japanese hospitals, churches and schools in the United States shall be granted the right of owning land.

ARTICLE 3. Inasmuch as the Japanese Government and the American Government have had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Americans (in America) to settle, cases which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the police departments of important cities in America shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Americans, or that the police departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese so that they may help to plan for the improvement of the American police service.

ARTICLE 4. China shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war (say 50 per cent. or more) of what is needed by the Chinese Government, or there shall be established in China a Chino-Japanese jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material is to be used.

ARTICLE 5. China agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Wuchang with Kiukiang and Nanchang, and another line between Nanchang and Hangchow, and another line between Nanchang and Chaochou.

ARTICLE 4. The United States shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war (say 50 per cent. or more) of what is needed by the American Government, or there shall be established in America a Japan-American jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material used.

ARTICLE 5. The American Government agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Chicago with St. Louis and Pittsburgh, and another line between Pittsburgh and Baltimore, and another line between Pittsburgh and Charleston.

ARTICLE 6. If China needs foreign capital to work mines, build railways and construct harbor works (including dockyards) in the Province of Fukien, Japan shall be first consulted.

ARTICLE 7. China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of missionary propaganda in China.

ARTICLE 6. If the United States needs foreign capital to develop mines, build railways and construct harbors (including dockyards) in the States of Virginia and North Carolina, Japan shall be first consulted.

ARTICLE 7. The American Government agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of Buddhist propaganda in the United States.

These humiliating concessions, with the temporary exception of Group V., China was compelled to sign under pressure of an ultimatum in which Japan demanded "a satisfactory reply" by 6 o'clock P. M., May 9, 1915. Mr. Millard's pamphlet gives the text of the ultimatum, China's official protest at the time of signing, and the American note of protest handed to the Japanese Government a week later.

THE FIRST AIRPLANE FLIGHT

THE eighteenth anniversary of the first airplane flight made by Orville Wright at Kitty Hawk, N. C., was celebrated on Dec. 17, 1921. On the corresponding date in 1903, Wright, in a crude, insecure biplane, attained a speed of thirty miles an hour in a continuous flight of fifty-nine seconds. Continuous flights of more than 175 miles an hour are now of frequent occurrence. In his first statement issued since the war Mr. Wright, at the office of the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce, New York, recalled that early attempt. Flying, he pointed out, up to 1903, had been "classed with perpetual motion, and the few who expressed belief in its possibilities were looked upon as mentally unbalanced." Mr. Wright described the difficulties encountered by himself and his brother Wilbur, now deceased, as follows:

The problem was not one to be solved by guesswork. Duechemin, about the middle of the last century, had published a formula for calculating the pressure on planes at different angles. Lillenthal, in the eighties, had published his measurements on several curved sur-

faces, with other valuable scientific work. Langley, in the nineties, published his measurements of plane surfaces, corroborating the earlier work of Duechemin. It was to the work of Lillenthal that my brother and I were by far more deeply indebted. But owing to various defects in the systems of measuring all this work, we found it too inaccurate and too meagre for purposes of design.

In 1901 my brother Wilbur and I, having proved by actual gliding tests the inaccuracy of these tables, began a scientific study of the subject. We designed new types of measuring instruments and made measurements of hundreds of differing wing surfaces in a wind tunnel. It was due to the accuracy of these measurements that we were able, in 1903, to design a new type of biplane, almost entirely from calculation, which was able to lift itself and operator into the air with a crude motor weighing more than twelve pounds per horse power. We had already developed a new system of control, the system with which our name has been so largely connected, but this system of control would have been of little use without our wind-tunnel work, which enabled us to design a machine which would lift itself.

Mr. Wright believes that aviation is still in its infancy, and that the use of the airplane as a carrier will eventually become universal.

THE JUGOSLAV CONSTITUTION

Translated by HOWARD WEBSTER WOLFE,
Instructor in the Charles University, Prague,

AND

ARTHUR IRVING ANDREWS,
Professor of History and Public Law at Tufts College

Complete text of the Constitution of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in effect since last June—First English version of one of the most important documents of its kind

THE Yugoslav Constitution went into effect on June 28, 1921, after considerable opposition on the part of those who desired to see a Federal rather than a unitary State constructed from the various fragments of the Serbo-Croat and Slovene peoples, brought together as a result of the World War. This Constitution owes its existence primarily to Premier Pashitch, who led the fight for its adoption, a fight that was successful by a narrow margin, taking into consideration those who refused to vote for it as well as those who voted against it.

The new Yugoslav Constitution owes a great deal to the Serbian Constitution of 1888, which was re-enacted in 1903. In fact, the more one compares the two the less one is inclined to call the latest promulgation a new Constitution at all; it seems to be rather an extension of the old instrument to cover new territory, rather than a totally new instrument for the administration of Government.

The older document provided for representative parliamentary government under, of course, the same Monarch, Peter I. (1903), who was the King upon the passage of the present Constitution. It emphasized, as this does, the parliamentary type of government. There was then, also, but a single chamber in the legislative branch. The provisions in regard to budgetary control, and even for the sessions of the Legislature, resembled those provided for in 1921. In this year again reappears the Court of Accounts, the Council of State, and you find similar provisions for the jury in 1921 as in 1903. The earlier Constitution, like the later, provides for proportional representation in elections and the scrutin de liste.

Still more important it is to note that the great space given to the detailed Bill of Rights in the Yugoslav Constitution goes

back to the many clauses in the Serbian Constitution, which seemed to have caused as much remark then as these same provisions do now. It is worth while here quoting the words of M. Milanovitch:

Those who do not know the constitutional history of Serbia in the past might be astonished by many of the clauses of this Constitution, which appear superfluous or out of date. In its second part, for example, it treats of the constitutional rights of the Serbian citizens. These are not only guaranteed in principle—the public rights of private individuals, such as personal liberty, inviolability of the home, the liberty of the press, &c.—but there is set forth the detail, often including the minutest things; everything that the rights thus guaranteed have as consequences and everything that they exclude and prohibit.

Here M. Milanovitch emphasizes the necessity for such clauses, "owing to the vicissitudes of the constitutional struggle, revolutions and the like."*

In this Yugoslav Constitution Part I. (three sections) provides for a constitutional, parliamentary and hereditary monarchy, and designates the name of the State, the coat of arms, the flag and the official language (which is Serbo-Croat-Slovene). Part II. devotes eighteen sections to the rights and duties of citizens, a longer space devoted to these topics than in any other Constitution among the new States. Along with this should be considered Part III., which is composed of social and economic regulations (twenty-three sections), as to the protection of labor, health, marriage, insurance against accident, illness, unemployment, incapacitation, old age and death. The protection and obligations of property rights are provided for, with special attention to the forests, fisheries, &c. Part IV. is given up to brief definitions of the various

* Milanovitch, "The Constitution and Constitutionalism," in Stead's "Serbia by the Servians." London, 1909. Pp. 46-67.

authorities in the State. To the powers of the King are given eleven long sections in Part V., which, however, include the provisions whereby the Government is controlled by the Cabinet. There are also special provisions in regard to the royal family, the possible absence of the King and the appointment of his successor, who shall assume the position of heir to the throne during the lifetime of the King. Following this there are nine sections, Part VI. providing minutely for the working of the regency, under the control of the representatives of the people. Part VII. contains twenty-one provisions for a national Legislature of but one house, chosen by universal suffrage, with representation of the

minorities, and also the regulations in regard to those qualified to vote as well as those qualified to sit in this national Legislature.

Part VIII., composed of nineteen sections, discusses at length the administrative authority and provides for partial control of the Ministry by the courts, as well as by the national Legislature, and also for the division of the country into administrative units, under autonomous officials, as they are called. Provision for the Council of State is contained in six sections, a Council of State which acts as the highest administrative court and has appellate jurisdiction in many cases. These administrative courts are quite in accordance with Continental usage.

The judiciary is treated in Part IX., where, in four sections, arrangements are made for an independent system of courts whose importance in the trial of civil and criminal cases may be great enough, but whose power over the other branches of the Government may be described as practically nil.

A curious arrangement devotes Part X. (six sections) to State Economy, i. e., taxes, budget and general financial control. This is followed by six sections devoted to the army (Part XI.), in which provisions for military courts and for terms of service are particularly noteworthy. In Part XII., arrangements for amending the Constitution according to the French model are given in three sections. The difference between an amendment to the Constitution and ordinary legislation is not very great. Parts XIII. and XIV. provide for the transfer of authority from the old officials and old organization to the new, and for the definite coming into effect of the new Constitution. The emphasis is notable on the supremacy of Serbian procedure in all these arrangements.

The tendency to regard the Constitution as the place to insert all measures or reforms that one feels most concerned about is quite evident. The idea of making the Constitution merely a skeleton on which to hang such arrangements as the Legislature may enact is not followed, therefore, even though constant reference is made to laws by which the provisions of the Constitution shall be supplemented in detail and put into effect.



(Times Wide World Photo)

KING ALEXANDER

New ruler of Yugoslavia, whose engagement to Princess Marie of Rumania has recently been announced

We can sum up the situation by stating that in almost every respect the parliamentary monarchy in Yugoslavia suggests the parliamentary Republic of France. The powers, attributes, actions of the Cabinet, the election and composition and action of the Chamber, multiplicity of parties, the place of administrative law and the Council of State, the interpellations, at all these points and many others we can see clear resemblances to French procedure and regulations. Certainly the sources are French, rather than American, and more essentially French than British, although both Yugoslavia and Great Britain are constitutional parliamentary monarchies.

The Yugoslav document has two significant provisions: No one is obliged to take part in religious acts, celebrations, rites and practices, except on State holidays and celebrations, and in so far as the law enjoins this upon persons who are subject to paternal, guardian's or military authority. Religious leaders may not employ their spiritual authority for partisan aims outside their houses of worship, or beyond prescripts of a religious character, or otherwise in the fulfillment of their official duty.

To those acquainted with Eastern and Southeastern European history, this significance is not lost. Coercion on the one side, interference by ecclesiastics in politics on the other, have been the rule rather than the exception. Probably the attempt by their rulers to iron out religious differences among the Serbo-Croat people was a vital factor in making easy their subjugation by the Turks. Surely much of the ill-feeling today among the Balkan peoples can be traced to Church jealousies and attempted clerical usurpations.

TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The copy of the Yugoslav Constitution which served as the basis for this English translation was given to Arthur I. Andrews, then Professor of American Foreign Policy at Charles University, Prague, by the Premier of Yugoslavia. From it the translation was prepared by Howard Webster Wolfe, a lecturer and instructor at the same Charles University, in collaboration with Professor Andrews. Parentheses (-) have been used to indicate somewhat freer renderings than a literal translation would justify. Words enclosed in brackets [-] are

added to clarify the meaning. The translators, however, have preferred to keep to the literal text as closely as possible. The full translation follows:

PART I.

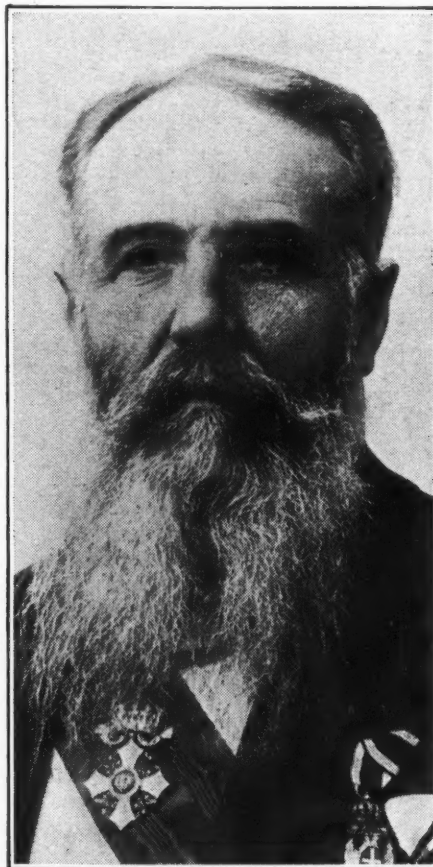
General Provisions

SECTION 1—The State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is a constitutional, parliamentary and hereditary monarchy.

The official name of the State is the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

SECTION 2—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom is a double-headed spread eagle in flight, on a red shield. Over both heads of the double-headed spread eagle stands the crown of the kingdom. On the breast of the eagle is a shield on which are the coats-of-arms, Serb—a cross on a red shield with a single firesteel by each bar; Croat—shield with twenty-five fields, alternately red and silver; Slovene—on a blue field three golden six-pointed stars and under this a white half moon.

The State flag is blue, white and red in a horizontal position facing an upright staff.



NICHOLAS PASHITCH

Premier of Yugoslavia, whose work in the Constituent Assembly was largely instrumental in shaping the new Constitution

SECTION 3—The official language of the kingdom is Serb-Croat-Slovene.

PART II.

Basic Rights and Duties of Citizens

SECTION 4—There is one citizenship in the whole kingdom; all citizens are equal before the law. All enjoy the same protection from [State] authority.

There is no recognition of nobility, nor titles, nor pre-eminence of birth.

SECTION 5—Personal freedom is guaranteed.

No one can be called to account, nor be arrested, nor otherwise be deprived of freedom by any one except in cases that the law has prescribed.

No one can be imprisoned for any crime whatsoever without a warrant of competent authority in writing and furnished with reasons. That warrant must be shown to the person arrested, either at the time of the arrest or, if that be impossible, at furthest within a period of twenty-four hours from the time of the arrest. Against this warrant for arrest he has the right to appeal to a competent court within a period of three days. In case there has been no appeal within that time, the investigating body must send the evidence to the court within twenty-four hours. The court is bound to give its decision within a period of two days from the time of receiving the evidence. The court decision is final.

Official authorities who transgress against these statutes shall be punished for illegal deprivation of freedom.

SECTION 6—No one can be tried by an incompetent Judge.

SECTION 7—No one can be condemned until he shall have been summoned by an official lawfully or in legal manner to defend himself.

SECTION 8—Punishment may be fixed only in accordance with the law and can be applied solely to acts for which the said law stated beforehand that they should be punished according to said law.

SECTION 9—Capital punishment cannot be inflicted for merely political crimes.

Excepted are the cases of the commission of or attempt at assassination on the person of the ruler or members of the royal house, for which the death penalty is fixed in criminal law.

Besides this are also excepted acts in which, to purely political culpability there is added some punishable act for which the death penalty is fixed in the criminal law, and such acts also which military law punishes with death penalty.

SECTION 10—No citizen can be banished from the State. He cannot be driven within the country from one place to another, nor be banished to one particular place except in cases which the law has expressly foreseen.

No one can, in any event, be banished from his own native place without judicial action.

SECTION 11—A dwelling is inviolable.

The authorities [the State] may not undertake any investigation or search in the house of a citizen, except in eventualities which the law has foreseen and in the manner which the law has prescribed.

Before the investigation [or search] the au-

thorities are obliged to give to the person whose dwelling is being searched a written warrant for the search, the authorities [stating] on what grounds the investigation is undertaken. Against this warrant he has the right of appeal to a court of first instance. But this appeal does not prevent the carrying out of the search. The search shall be carried out immediately in the presence of two [other] citizens.

Immediately after the completion of a search, the authorities are obliged to give to the person whose house is searched information about the outcome of the search and a signed list of articles taken away for further examination.

At night police officials may enter a private house only in cases of sudden emergency, as when they shall be called on from the house for help. At this act of the authorities there shall be present the President of the municipality or two neighbors summoned.

Officials of state who have acted contrary to these provisions shall be punished for illegal violation of a dwelling.

SECTION 12—Freedom of belief and conscience is guaranteed. The adherents of different confessions are of equal rights before the law and may practice their religion openly.

The enjoyment of civil and political rights is not dependent on confession or belief. No one can be freed from his civil and military duties and obligations by appealing to the tenets of his faith.

Those faiths are permitted which have thus far obtained legal recognition in any part of the kingdom. Other faiths can obtain recognition only in accordance with the law. Accepted and recognized faiths regulate independently their internal religious affairs and control their own institutions and funds within the limits of the law.

No one is obliged to express publicly his religious convictions. No one is obliged to take part in religious acts, celebrations, rites and practices, except on State holidays and celebrations and in so far as the law enjoins this upon persons who are subject to paternal, guardian's or military authority.

Accepted and recognized faiths may maintain relations with their sovereign superiors even outside the borders of the State, in so far as the spiritual precepts of the several confessions demand this. The manner in which these relations shall be maintained shall be regulated by law.

In so far as is foreseen in the State budget for religion, the outlay is to be divided among the several accepted and recognized faiths, according to the number of their adherents and their clearly shown need.

Religious leaders may not employ their spiritual authority for partisan aims outside their houses of worship, or beyond precepts of a religious character, or otherwise in the fulfillment of their official duty.

SECTION 13—The press is free.

There cannot be established any preventive measure which hinders the appearance, sale and circulation of publications and newspapers. Censorship can be established only during time of war or mobilization, and that in a manner previously specified by law. Forbidden is the circulation and sale of newspapers or printed

matter which contains abuse of the ruler or members of the royal house, heads of foreign States, the National Skupshtina, indirect incitement of one citizens to forcible change of the Constitution or laws of the land, or which contains serious offense against public morals. But in these cases the authorities must lay the matter before the court within twenty-four hours of the infringement of the prohibition, and said court must also within twenty-four hours enforce or annul the suppression. In a contrary event, it is considered that the suppression is annulled. The regular courts shall decide about the indemnification for a wrong done, independently of the court decision about the suppression.

For such crime committed by the press are responsible: Author, editor, printer, publisher and circulator. It shall be prescribed by a special law regarding the press when and in what event the persons enumerated above, and in what manner they shall answer for crimes committed by the press. The regular courts shall try all crimes committed by the press.

SECTION 14—Citizens have the right of assembly and discussion. Further stipulations about this, the law shall provide. They may not come into assembly under arms. Assemblies in the open must be announced to competent authorities at least twenty-four hours beforehand.

Citizens have the right to assemble for purposes which are not punishable under the law.

SECTION 15—Citizens have the right of petition. Petitions may be signed by one or more individuals or by all legal persons. Petitions may be presented to all authorities without distinction.

SECTION 16—Science and art are unrestricted and enjoy the protection and support of the State.

University instruction is unrestricted.

Education is a prerogative of the State.

In the whole land education rests on one and the same plan, being adapted to the purpose for which it is intended.

All schools must give moral instruction and develop the civic consciousness in the spirit of national unity and religious toleration.

Public instruction is individual, general, and obligatory.

Religious instruction is given according to the wish of the parents or guardians respectively, divided into groups according to confession and in harmony with their religious principles.

Technical schools shall be opened in accord with the needs of business.

State education is given without enrollment fees, school tuition, or other charges.

In how far there shall exist private schools and schools of the several religious sects and under what arrangements they shall operate shall be established by law.

All institutions for instruction are under State supervision.

The State shall assist the work of national enlightenment.

To minorities of other race or language elementary instruction shall be given under conditions which the law shall prescribe.

SECTION 17—The right of private correspondence and telegraph and telephone communication is unincumbered except in the case of criminal investigation, mobilization, or war.

All those who violate private correspondence or telegraph and telephone communication shall be punished according to law.

SECTION 18—Every citizen has the right directly and without any sort of [previous] official authorization to bring charges against State courts or minor autonomous [minor civil] officials for criminal acts, which they may have committed against him in official activity.

Special regulations apply to Ministers, Judges and soldiers under the flag.

For a wrong which a State or autonomous official does to citizens by irregular fulfillment of duty, the State or autonomous body is answerable before the regular courts. The official concerned is answerable to them.

A complaint of a wrong is invalid after nine months.

SECTION 19—All offices in all branches of State service are open alike within their legal requirements to all [Jugoslav] citizens by birth as also to citizens who are by birth of Serbo-Croat-Slovene nationality.

Foreign-born citizens can enter State service only when they have been ten years resident in the kingdom; and by the express authority of the Council of State and with the well-founded support of a competent Minister beforehand (previously given).

SECTION 20—Every citizen enjoys the protection of the State in foreign States. Every citizen has the right to renounce his citizenship after fulfilling his obligations toward the State.

The surrender of its own citizens is prohibited.

SECTION 21—Every citizen is under obligation to obey the laws, serve the interests of national unity, protect the fatherland, support the burdens of the State according to his inherited ability and in accord with the provisions of the law.

PART III.

Social and Economic Provisions

SECTION 22—With the purpose that uniform prosperity be brought to all citizens, the State will provide a place of display for the economic products to which they give their efforts. In keeping with this it will establish a permanent scientific organization and institute constant support of school attendance for capable poor children.

SECTION 23—The working class is under the protection of the State.

Women and children not fully grown are especially to be protected from occupations harmful to their health.

The law shall establish special measures for the security and protection of workers and shall prescribe the hours of work in all occupations.

SECTION 24—The products of mental exertion are the property of the author and enjoy State protection.

SECTION 25—Freedom of agreement in trade relations is recognized in so far as it is not opposed to the interests of society.

SECTION 26—It is the right and duty of the State to intervene in the public interest and on the basis of the law, in the economic relations of citizens, in the spirit of justice and for the prevention of social friction.

SECTION 27—The State shall give attention to (1) The betterment of general hygienic and social conditions which affect the national health; (2) special care for mothers and young children; (3) the preservation of the health of the whole citizenship; (4) the suppression of acute and chronic infectious diseases, as well as the suppression of the abuse of alcohol; (5) medical assistance without cost, the furnishing of medicines and other necessities without cost for the preservation of the general health of the needy citizens of the nation.

SECTION 28—Marriage shall be under the protection of the State.

SECTION 29—The State shall assist materially the National Syndicate. Likewise the State shall assist materially other national economic organizations which are not working for profit. Precedence shall be given over other private undertakings under otherwise equal conditions to such syndicate and such economic associations within the circle of their activities in view of their co-operation.

There shall be passed a law with reference to associations, which shall apply to the whole nation.

SECTION 30—Farmers' insurance unions shall be established by a special legal enactment.

SECTION 31—The insurance of workingmen against the event of accident, illness, unemployment, incapacity, old age and death shall be established by a special law.

SECTION 32—Invalids, war orphans, war widows and the poor parents, unable to work, of soldiers who fell or died in the war shall enjoy special State protection and help in token of recognition.

In accord with the law, provision shall be made for the feeding of invalids incapable of work and for the training of war orphans for work and for life.

SECTION 33—The right of workingmen to organize for the purpose of obtaining better working conditions is guaranteed.

SECTION 34—Special attention shall be given to the marine and to sea fisheries.

The insurance of persons employed on the sea against the event of sickness, incapacity, old age and death shall be established by a special law.

SECTION 35—The State shall care for the construction and maintenance of all means of intercommunication wherever the general State interests demand.

SECTION 36—Usury (extortion) of every sort is forbidden.

SECTION 37—Property rights are guaranteed. From property arise also obligations. There shall be no employment of property to the detriment of the public. The content, extent and limitations of private property shall be fixed by law.

Expropriation of private property for the benefit of the public is permitted on the basis of the law in return for just compensation.

SECTION 38—Entail shall be abolished.

Foundations with purely beneficent purposes shall be permitted. It shall be fixed by law in what event aims and objects of foundations shall be changed to meet changed conditions.

SECTION 39—According to law concerning taxes on an inheritance, an interest in the inheritance shall be assured to the State; in this, basing the calculation on the degree of relationship between the heir and the deceased person and the value of the inheritance.

SECTION 40—The requisition of a room and of other necessities for the military shall be done only in return for just compensation.

SECTION 41—Large private forest tracts shall be expropriated according to the law and shall pass into the possession of the State or of autonomous bodies. The law shall stipulate in how far great forest tracts can be the property of other legal bodies which already exist or which shall be founded.

Real forest land, whose forestation furthers climatic and cultural considerations, shall pass likewise in accordance with the law of expropriation into the property of the State or of autonomous bodies, in so far as this forestation cannot be accomplished in any other manner.

Great forest tracts which foreign authority handed over to individuals shall pass, according to the law, into State or municipal possession without any recompense whatever to those individuals. The law regarding forests shall fix the conditions under which peasants cultivating the land, and those who support themselves incidentally by work on the land, may help themselves by cutting wood for building material or fuel, as well as for the pasturing of cattle in State and communal forests.

SECTION 42—Fief relationships are legally regarded as terminated on the day of freedom from foreign domination. In how far injustices were done anywhere before that time by the dissolution of fief relationships or their simulations into private legal relationships shall be passed on by the law of rectifications.

Vassals (serfs), as also in general land workers who till the land in fief-like relationships, shall be established as free possessors of State lands, not paying themselves any sort of compensation whatever for it and shall be regarded as having hereditary rights.

SECTION 43—The expropriation of great possessions and their division into properties for those who till the land shall be regulated by law. The law shall fix also what sort of compensation shall be given for expropriated possessions. For great possessions which belonged to members of former foreign dynasties, and for those which foreign authority bestowed on individuals, no compensation whatever shall be given.

Settlements shall be effected primarily with the help of settlement associations organized freely, and giving attention also thereto that the settlers may be supplied with the indispensable equipment for production.

In settlements as well as in the division of expropriated tracts, preference shall be given to needy soldiers who fought for the deliverance

of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and their families.

The amount of ground assigned to the land workers shall be specified by law, also the conditions under which this may not be divided among heirs or in any manner be taken away.

SECTION 44—An Industrial Council shall be created for the working out of social matters and the formulating of industrial laws. Further details about its composition and competency shall be fixed by law.

PART IV.

State Authorities

SECTION 45—All State authorities shall be established in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

SECTION 46—The King and the National Skupshtina (Assembly) together shall constitute the law-giving authority.

SECTION 47—The King shall exercise administrative authority through a responsible Ministry in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

SECTION 48—The courts shall exercise judicial authority. Their judgments and decisions shall be handed down and carried out in the name of the King on the basis of the laws.

PART V.

The King

SECTION 49—The King shall confirm and proclaim the laws, appoint State officials, and give out military commands according to the provisions of the law.

The King is the Commander-in-Chief of all military forces. He gives out decorations and other distinctions.

SECTION 50—The King has the right of amnesty for political and military criminals. Through amnesty the legal consequences of the criminal act may be lessened, but the right of private persons to compensation for injury cannot be infringed by it. Amnesty may be given before the beginning of court proceedings, during the course of the proceedings, or after the judgment is rendered. Amnesty is general or individual.

For amnesty of a Minister there is necessary a previous concurrence of the National Skupshtina, but this cannot be given to a Minister in any event before the rendering of judgment.

The King has the right of pardon. He can pardon, or shorten, or mollify a punishment fixed by the court. The right of amnesty for acts punishable only through private complaint is fixed by the law regarding judicial procedure in criminal cases.

SECTION 51—The King shall represent the State in all its relations with foreign States. He shall declare war and conclude peace. If the State is not attacked or war declared upon it by some other State, a previous approval by the National Skupshtina is necessary for the declaration of war.

If war be proclaimed on the country or if it shall be attacked, the National Skupshtina must be called together at once.

SECTION 52—The King shall summon the Na-

tional Skupshtina for ordinary or extraordinary session.

He shall open and close the sitting in person, with a speech from the throne or through the Council of Ministers with a message or ukas.

All the Ministers shall countersign a speech from the throne, a message and ukas.

A ukas by which the sittings of one session are closed shall always contain also an announcement of the date of the new session.

The King can at any time, in State necessity, convene the National Skupshtina which had prorogued its sitting.

The King has the right to dissolve the National Skupshtina, but the ukas concerning the dissolution must contain a call for new elections within a period of three months at latest, and a call for a sitting of the National Skupshtina within four months at latest from the day of dissolution of the Skupshtina. All Ministers shall countersign a ukas for the dissolution of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 53—The King cannot at the same time be the ruler of any other State without the consent of the National Skupshtina.

If the King, contrary to this provision, still accepts the crown of any other State, he shall be regarded as having renounced the throne of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

SECTION 54—No act of royal authority shall have force nor can it be enforced if a competent Minister has not countersigned it. For all acts of the King, oral or written, countersigned or not countersigned, as also for all his proceedings of political character, a competent Minister shall be responsible.

For the King's acts as military Commander-in-Chief the Minister of War and Marine shall be responsible.

SECTION 55—The King and his heir are of age when they complete eighteen years.

The King's person is unassailable [inviolable]. No charge can be brought involving the King's responsibility, nor can a complaint be made against the King. This [inviolability] does not hold of the King's private status.

SECTION 56—In the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes the ruler is Peter I., Karageorgevich. King Peter shall be followed by Heir to the Throne Alexander and his male offspring from legal marriage by the right of primogeniture.

If the King has no male offspring he shall appoint an heir to himself from the indirect line with the consent of the National Skupshtina. For that is necessary a decision of half plus one of the full number of the membership of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 57—The royal house shall consist of the Queen Consort, the living forebears and descendants in direct line with their consorts, the full brothers and their descendants, with their consorts, and the sisters of the ruling King. The relations and status in the royal house shall be defined by a statute which shall be extra legal. No member of the royal house can be a Minister or member of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 58—In the presence of the National Skupshtina the King shall take an oath which

runs as follows: I [name], ascending the throne of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and assuming royal authority, swear by Almighty God that I will preserve the unity and independence of the State and the integrity of State territory, and that I will hold the Constitution inviolable; that I will rule according to it and the laws, and that I will keep before me with all my might the welfare of the nation. So help me, Lord God. Amen!

SECTION 59—The King shall live constantly in the country. If the necessity appears that the King go out of the country for a short time the heir to the throne shall represent him. If the heir to the throne is not of age or if he is prevented [in any way], the Council of Ministers shall represent the King. This representation shall be carried out according to the directions which the King shall give within the limits of the Constitution. This also applies in the event of illness of the King which shall not produce permanent incapacity.

During the time of absence of the King or heir to the throne, the Council of Ministers shall not have the right to dissolve the National Skupshtina.

The representation of the Council of Ministers can last at longest six months. At the end of this time shall come into play the constitutional regulations for a regency.

PART VI.

Regency

SECTION 60—The King's authority shall be assumed by a regency: (1) If the King is a minor; (2) If, on account of mental or physical illness, he is permanently incapacitated from assuming the King's authority.

The National Skupshtina shall decide by secret vote regarding the establishment and abolition of a regency.

If the Council of Ministers shall decide that the event of the King's incapacity has transpired, it shall impart this to the National Skupshtina, together with the opinion of three physicians selected from the National Medical Faculty. The proceedings shall be the same if the heir to the throne is in question.

SECTION 61—The authority of Regent shall fall by right to the heir to the throne, if he is of age. If the heir to the throne, for reasons enumerated in Section 60, cannot assume the authority of Regent, the National Skupshtina shall, by secret vote, choose three Regents for the King. Regents for the King shall be chosen for four years; after this time, in the event that the regency must be prolonged at least for a year, there shall be a new election; if the regency is to last longer, a secret election shall be held again for four years.

Eligible for Regents are only those born Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, citizens of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes who are 45 years of age and have a higher education.

Before they take the King's authority into their hands the Regents must take an oath before the National Skupshtina which has chosen them that they will be faithful to the King and that they will rule according to the Constitution and the laws of the land.

SECTION 62—If one of the three Regents is for the time absent or [in any way] prevented, the two other Regents shall have authority and shall carry on State business without him.

SECTION 63—The Regents shall care for the education of a minor King. The administrators appointed by the will of a King shall care for the property of a minor King. If the deceased King has not appointed administrators, the Regents shall appoint them, conferring with the Council of State.

SECTION 64—Until the selection of Regents, the Council of Ministers shall exercise, provisionally, the royal authority under their own responsibility.

SECTION 65—In the event of the death or resignation of the King, the heir to the throne, if he is of age, shall assume the Government at once and shall announce this to the nation by proclamation. At the end of ten days he shall take the prescribed oath before the National Skupshtina. If the National Skupshtina has previously been dissolved and the new one is not yet elected, the old National Skupshtina shall be convoked.

SECTION 66—If the King, after his death, has not left male issue, but the Queen should be pregnant at the time of the King's death, the National Skupshtina shall choose Regents, who shall exercise the authority of the King only until the time of birth. The Government is bound to submit to the National Skupshtina before the selection of Regents, the opinions of three physicians selected from the National Medical Faculty regarding the pregnancy of the Queen. The same requirement holds also in the event that the heir to the throne should die and that his wife should be pregnant at the time of the King's death.

SECTION 67—In the event that the throne, according to the provisions of this Constitution, should remain without an heir, the Council of Ministers shall take into their hands the authority of the King, and shall at once call the National Skupshtina to a special session, in which a solution about the throne shall be reached.

SECTION 68—The civil list of the King shall be fixed by law. The civil list, once fixed, cannot be increased without the consent of the National Skupshtina, nor decreased without the consent of the King.

The King's Regents shall take from the State Treasury, for the fulfillment of their duties, only so much as the National Skupshtina shall fix for them at the time of their selection.

PART VII.

National Skupshtina

SECTION 69—The National Skupshtina shall be composed of representatives which the nation shall choose freely in a general, direct and secret election, held everywhere at the same time, with representation of the minorities.

For every 40,000 inhabitants one representative shall be chosen. If the excess of inhabitants in any election district shall be more than 25,000, one representative shall be chosen for that remnant.

The National Skupshtina shall be elected for

four years. The further details about the election shall be prescribed by law.

SECTION 70—Every citizen by birth or naturalization shall have electoral right if he shall have reached the age of 21 years.

Active officers, even though not in service, as well as under officers and soldiers under the flag, cannot exercise electoral right or be elected.

The law shall decide also about woman's right to the vote.

SECTION 71—Those persons shall be deprived temporarily of electoral right: (1) Who are condemned to hard labor (imprisonment), until they shall be restored to their rights; (2) who are condemned to the loss of the privileges of citizenship, for the duration of this punishment; (3) who are under restraint (temporarily mentally incompetent); (4) who are under guardianship.

SECTION 72—For representative in the National Skupshtina can be chosen only those persons who have electoral right, regardless of whether they are entered on the electoral list. From every representative are demanded the following conditions: (1) That he shall be a citizen by birth or naturalization of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Naturalized citizens, if not of Serb-Croat-Slovene birth, must be resident at least ten years counting from the day of naturalization; (2) that he be 30 years of age; (3) that he speak and write the national language.

National representatives cannot be at the same time purveyors or State contractors.

SECTION 73—Political, financial and forest officials as well as officials of the agrarian reform cannot be candidates except they have given up office a year before the announcement of the election.

Other officials who exercise public authority cannot be candidates in the electoral district of their territorial competence.

Officials who shall be chosen for national representatives shall be placed in official retirement during the period of the duration of the mandate.

Ministers, active and in retirement, and professors in the universities can be candidates, and if they are elected shall hold their position.

SECTION 74—Every national representative shall represent the whole nation and not merely those who elected him.

Electors cannot give, and national representatives cannot receive, mandatory and obligatory instructions.

All national representatives shall take oath that they will faithfully preserve the Constitution.

SECTION 75—The National Skupshtina shall meet in the capital city, Belgrade, in regular session every year Oct. 20, if it is not called before that date into extraordinary session by the King's ukas.

If in the event of war the capital is changed, the National Skupshtina shall meet in the provisional capital.

The regular session cannot be dissolved until the State budget shall be fixed.

During the time of war the National Skupsh-

tina is constantly in session except if it itself shall decide otherwise.

SECTION 76—The National Skupshtina shall scrutinize the credentials of its own members and shall decide about them.

The National Skupshtina shall prescribe its own order of business.

SECTION 77—The National Skupshtina shall choose for each session its officials from its own membership.

SECTION 78—The Council of Ministers or individual Ministers shall introduce bills on the King's authority.

The right of introducing bills belongs to every member of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 79—The King shall conclude treaties with foreign States, but a provisional confirmation of the National Skupshtina is necessary for the validity of these treaties. The provisional confirmation of the National Skupshtina is not necessary for the validity of merely political agreements, if they are not contrary to the Constitution and laws of the State.

An agreement that a foreign army shall occupy land of the kingdom or shall go across it is not valid without provisional confirmation of the National Skupshtina.

The National Skupshtina can, if State necessity demands it, by resolution beforehand, empower the Council of Ministers to take measures for the acceptance of a proposed treaty if it cannot be postponed.

State territory cannot be disposed of or exchanged without the ratification of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 80—The King shall proclaim the laws by ukas which shall contain also the law itself if passed by the National Skupshtina. All the Ministers shall countersign the ukas. The Minister of Justice shall place on it the State seal and shall care for the publication of the laws in the Official News.

The law shall have binding force fifteen days after publication in the Official News, if the law itself does not stipulate otherwise. The day of publication in the Official News shall be counted.

SECTION 81—The National Skupshtina has the right of inquiry and even of investigation in electoral and purely administrative questions.

SECTION 82—Every member of the National Skupshtina has the right to put questions and interpellations to the Ministry. The Ministers are obliged to give answer to them in the course of the same session at the time which the order of business fixes.

SECTION 83—The National Skupshtina shall deal only indirectly with the Ministers.

SECTION 84—Only its members, members of the Government, and Government confidants have the right to speak in the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 85—The National Skupshtina can make a fully binding decision if there are one-third of all the members present in the sitting.

For a fully binding decision a majority of the votes of the representatives present is necessary. In the event of an equal division of votes, the proposal voted upon shall be regarded as lost.

SECTION 86—No bill can be passed in a legal

manner by the National Skupshtina until it shall have passed first through a competent committee.

Voting in the National Skupshtina is usually open; only elections are decided by secret ballot. A vote can be cast only in person.

Each bill must be voted on twice in the same session of the National Skupshtina before it is finally adopted.

SECTION 87—No one can ever call a representative to account for a vote which he has cast as a member of the National Skupshtina.

For all utterances and proceedings in exercise of a mandate, whether in a sitting of the National Skupshtina, or in a committee, or on an individual mission, or in an individual duty at the direction of the Skupshtina, representatives are accountable only to the National Skupshtina according to the provisions of the order of procedure.

SECTION 88—Without the authorization of the National Skupshtina no members can be held to answer for any crime of whatever degree, nor in any event or on any authority be deprived of their freedom, as long as their mandate lasts, unless they are caught in the very act of crime or misdemeanor. But even in this last event the National Skupshtina, if it is in session, shall be informed at once and shall give or refuse authorization for a competent trial to be carried on during the time of the session.

Right of immunity of the representative begins with the day of election.

If any one becomes a representative before a judgment against him on account of any crime is carried out, the authority which made the inquiry and investigation shall give information about this to the National Skupshtina, which shall give or refuse authorization for the continuance of the proceedings.

A member of the National Skupshtina can be held to account only for that act of which he is charged.

SECTION 89—To the National Skupshtina falls the exclusive right of maintaining order in its midst through its presiding officer. No armed force can be posted in the building of the National Skupshtina, nor in any courtyard, without the consent of the President of the National Skupshtina. Likewise no State officials can perform any acts of authority in the National Skupshtina without his consent.

No armed person may enter the building of the National Skupshtina except persons who are authorized to wear arms and are engaged in service under the National Skupshtina.

PART VIII.

Administrative Authority

SECTION 90—All the Ministers form the Council of Ministers, which stands directly under the King. The King names the President and the members of the Council of Ministers. The Ministers stand at the head of the several branches of the State Administration.

Ministers can also be without portfolio.

In the Ministries there can be placed, where the necessity is shown, State Under Secretaries

for one definite part of the business of these branches of the State Administration. State Under Secretaries, if they are chosen from Parliament, do not lose their mandate.

Ministers name the subordinate State officials according to the provisions of the law.

Ministers before entering upon their duty take oath to support the Constitution and be faithful to the King.

SECTION 91—Ministers are responsible to the King and to the National Skupshtina.

The King and the National Skupshtina can bring charges against Ministers for infringement of the Constitution and of the laws of the land committed in their official capacity. For wrongs which Ministers do by an illegal [act in] fulfillment of duty the State is responsible.

SECTION 92—Charges can be brought against Ministers both during the time of their service and for five years after retirement.

A proposal that charges be brought against a Minister must be made in writing and must contain the charges.

If the National Skupshtina brings charges against a Minister a decision to bring the Minister before the court shall be brought by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of the members present.

SECTION 93—The State Court shall try Ministers. The State Court is formed of six Councilors of State and six Court of Cassation Judges, whom each of these bodies shall choose by lot in their plenary sittings. The President of the Court of Cassation is the President of the State Court.

For those acts which are not foreseen in the said law punishment shall be fixed by the law about Ministerial responsibility.

Further details about Ministerial responsibility shall be set forth in a special law.

SECTION 94—Administrative authority can make the necessary regulations for the application of laws.

By regulations with legal force administrative authority can regulate relations only on the basis of legal authorization which shall be given especially for each case.

The National Skupshtina can by resolution declare without force in whole or in part regulations set forth on the basis of legal authorization.

Regulations may be published, and in them must be cited each time the law on the basis of which they are made.

SECTION 95—Administration in the kingdom shall be conducted by departments, circuits, districts and communes.

The division into departments shall be made by law on natural, social and economic bases. One province can have at most 800,000 inhabitants.

Two or more smaller departments can be joined into one larger department. The departmental assemblies of the departments concerned shall make the final decision about this. But even such a department cannot have more than 500,000 inhabitants.

At the head of each department shall be a Great Zupan, whom the King shall appoint and who shall conduct the business of State admin-

istration in the department through State officials.

SECTION 96—For business of a city, commune, district and departmental character there shall be established local civil autonomous organizations for the city, commune, district and department on an elective basis.

A special law shall be passed regarding the government and autonomy of cities.

Autonomous business shall be cared for by special autonomous officials, according to the provision of the law.

In the range of activity of the autonomous departmental administration shall fall the following sorts of business:

1. Departmental finances: (a) Making up the departmental budget; (b) disposition of departmental public taxes, which are fixed on the basis of the law by the department to cover departmental expenditures.

2. Departmental public works, as also building prescriptions.

3. Care for the furthering of departmental economic interests: Agriculture, stock raising, vine culture, fruit culture, forestry, lake and river fisheries, hunting, as also for technical improvement of the land.

4. Administration of public property.

5. Care for the public health in the departments, as well as for all institutions, through which the health status of the department may be furthered.

6. Care about social problems in the department.

7. Departmental humane institutions.

8. Departmental means of communication.

9. Co-operation in the furtherance of enlightenment in the department.

10. Co-operation in industrial education in the department.

11. Establishment and maintenance of seed institutions, tourist clubs, mutual loan and insurance associations.

12. The expression of opinion at the request of the Government about projects in conformity with the law, which concern the department, as also in general about all other subjects for which the Government asks their opinion.

Also other business can by law be entrusted to the departmental, autonomous administration.

If the department with its means should not be able to carry out the several matters enumerated, the State shall on demand of the departmental Skupshtina and by decision of the National Skupshtina give the necessary means or shall itself take over the carrying out of these matters.

SECTION 97—Autonomous [local] units shall have their yearly budgets. The administration of autonomous units shall be under the supervision of the Minister of Finance and the chief control shall be regulated by special laws.

SECTION 98—The departmental organs of administration are the departmental Skupshtina and the departmental committee.

The departmental and district Skupshtina shall choose for themselves a President, who shall preside over their sittings. They shall choose also a departmental and district committee.

By exception, joint competence can be as-

signed by law for the same branches of State and autonomous work in the department.

The Great Zupan is the chief official of the general State administration in the department, in so far as special competence for one or more departments is not given by law for special business of State administration.

The law shall decide what State business the Great Zupan shall handle in consultation with the departmental committee.

Further details about authority and competence of autonomous bodies—city, commune, district and departmental—shall be fixed by a special law.

SECTION 99—The departmental Skupshtina has the right to make departmental regulation about those matters of its competence. The Great Zupan of the department shall proclaim departmental regulations.

The Great Zupan of the department shall stay from proclamation regulations which he finds are not based on the Constitution and the law. In this event he shall bring such regulations with his opinion to the Council of State for decision, and shall inform the competent Minister about this. If the Council of State shall find that the said regulations are not based on the Constitution or on any law, they shall not be proclaimed or published. The Council of State is obliged to bring in their decision within two months. If the Council of State shall not bring in their decision in that time, the decision of the Great Zupan shall stand.

SECTION 100—The departmental committee shall prescribe provisions and directions for the fulfillment of departmental regulations.

SECTION 101—The State administrative authority exercises supervision over autonomous business authorities through the Great Zupan and individual expert officials. The Great Zupan has the right to stay from execution all decisions of autonomous officials which should not be based on the Constitution, the laws or departmental regulations. Against a ruling of the Great Zupan a complaint can be lodged with the Council of State within the time limit of the law. If the Council of State should not bring a ruling within a month at furthest from the date of its receipt, the decision of the Zupan shall stand.

SECTION 102—For matters of administrative nature administrative courts shall be established. The law shall fix their seat, competence and organization.

SECTION 103—The Council of State is the highest administrative court. The King shall appoint members of the Council of State on the advice of the President of the Council of Ministers, and in the following manner: The King shall name half the members from twice the number which the National Skupshtina proposes, and the National Skupshtina shall choose the other half from twice the number which the King proposes. The filling of the administrative positions of the Councilors of State shall be fixed by a special law which can also deviate from the above stipulations.

For members of the Council of State only those higher officials or public workers who have Faculty (university) preparation or ten

years' State service or public work can be appointed.

At least two-thirds of the Councilors of State must have diplomas after completing [the work of] a legal Faculty.

Members of the Council of State can be removed from their places, transferred to another branch of State service and placed on pension only on legal action. But when they reach 70 years of age or become ill, so that they cannot fulfill their duty, they must be placed on pension.

The Council of State has the following duties:

1. As the highest administrative court it decides on matters of administrative nature. Matters pertaining to a complaint against a ukas and Ministerial decrees shall be decided by the Council of State in first and last instance.

2. As an administrative organ it heads State Administration and decides about acts of administrative nature for which its approval is not necessary according to special laws.

3. It exercises supervisory authority over autonomous units according to the provisions of the law.

4. It decides conflicts about competence between State administrative authorities as well as conflicts about competence between State and autonomous authorities.

5. It decides also about other questions which shall be placed within its competence by law.

Further details about the constitution of competence and its handling under the Council of State shall be prescribed by special law.

SECTION 104—State competence shall be established according to the prescriptions of the law.

SECTION 105—It shall be prescribed by law how officials shall be named.

SECTION 106—The names of State officials, rights and duties, pay and pensions of State officials according to their office shall be fixed by the law about officials.

SECTION 107—State officials are officials of the whole State and shall work for the general interest.

The use of their authority and position by State officials for partisan aims, as also the influence of a chief on State officials, shall be punished according to the law.

SECTION 108—An official to whom a permanent place shall be assured by law cannot be removed against his will without process of a regular criminal or disciplinary court.

PART IX.

Judicial Authority

SECTION 109—Judges are independent. In the rendering of justice they shall not stand under the influence of any authority, but shall judge according to the law.

Judges and judicial competency can be established only by law. But in no event can extraordinary Judges or commissions be established for investigations.

In family and supervisory business of the Muslims State Sheriat Judges shall act.

SECTION 110—For the whole kingdom there

shall be only one Court of Cassation, with its seat at Zagreb.

The Court of Cassation is competent also for the settlement of conflicts between administrative, civil or military authority and judicial authority. Likewise it is competent, also for the settlement of conflicts between administrative and regular courts.

SECTION 111—The appointment of Cassation and Appellate Judges and of the President of courts of the first rank shall be made by the King's ukas (decree) on the advice of the Minister of Justice from among the number of candidates which the original body shall select, the constitution of which shall be fixed more exactly by law.

SECTION 112—The Judges of all courts are permanent. Judges cannot be deprived of their office nor from any cause be relieved from duty against their will, without process of regular courts or disciplinary process of the Court of Cassation. Judges cannot be held to account for their judicial work without approval of a competent Appellate Court. For members of the higher courts the Court of Cassation shall give this approval.

A Judge cannot, even provisionally, be assigned to another paid or unpaid public service without his own consent and the approval of the Court of Cassation.

A Judge can be transferred only at his own consent.

A Judge can be in service only until reaching the sixty-fifth year of his life and the Presidents of the Cassation and Appellate Courts till the age of 70 years. Before that time Judges can be placed on pension only on written request or if they have so failed physically or mentally that they cannot fulfill their duty. The Court of Cassation shall bring in the rulings about pensioning in this last event.

PART X.

State Economy

SECTION 113—Each year the National Skupshtina shall draw up a State budget, which it shall fix only for a year.

The budget must be spread before the National Skupshtina at furthest a month after its coming together. At the same time with the budget shall be spread before the National Skupshtina for survey and approval also a complete account of the expenditures of the last fiscal year.

The National Skupshtina cannot increase the showing of the parts, but can decrease and omit them.

The budget shall be approved by parts.

The manner of construction and completion of the budget shall be prescribed by law.

The savings of one part of the budget or budget year cannot be expended in satisfying the needs of another part or year, without the approval of the National Skupshtina.

SECTION 114—Until the budget laid before it shall be approved, the National Skupshtina can approve one-twelfth for one or more months. If the National Skupshtina is dissolved before the budget is fixed, the budget of the preceding fiscal year shall be prolonged by ukas for at most four months.

SECTION 115—State expenditures and general State outlay shall be fixed by law.

The National Skupshtina shall decide about State loans. The Government is obliged to lay before the National Skupshtina, through the Chief Control, a punctual attested report, whether arrangements about loans are concluded and fulfilled in the sense of the law.

SECTION 116—Tax obligation is general, and all State public expenditures are general for the whole State.

[A] tax shall be paid according to taxable worth, and progressively.

The King and heir to the throne shall pay State taxes on private property.

No help whatever, permanent or temporary; no gift or loan can be given from the State Treasury if it shall not be based on the law.

SECTION 117—The Minister of Finance shall have control of State property, so far as the laws do not establish otherwise.

A special law shall be passed about the manner of disposal of State goods.

[The] right of monopoly shall fall to the State. Ores, medicinal waters and springs and forces of nature are State property.

A special law shall be passed about the giving over of mining, industrial or, indeed, any other privileges.

SECTION 118—A Chief Control shall be established for the oversight of State accounts and supervision of the completion of State and provincial budgets and as head of the Court of Accounts.

The President and members of the Chief Control shall be chosen by the National Skupshtina from a list of candidates, which the Council of State shall prepare and in which shall be nominated twice as many candidates as there are places vacant.

The President and half the members of the Chief Control must be jurists (i. e., members of the bar). The other members must have been Ministers of Finance or must have had ten years of proved service in financial employment.

The President and members of the Chief Control shall enjoy the same right of tenure as the members of the Council of State.

Further details about the composition, authority and procedure of the Chief Control shall be set forth in a special law.

It shall be fixed by law in what events there shall be grounds for complaint against the ruling of the Chief Control to the Court of Cassation.

The Chief Control shall survey, justify and liquidate accounts of general administration and all bills rendered against the State Treasury. It shall watch that no expenditure overstep the budget, and that no sum shall be carried from one part of the budget into another. It shall close up the accounts of all State administration and is obliged to bring together all evidence and information.

A complete State accounting shall be laid before the National Skupshtina in conjunction with explanations of the Chief Control and that, at longest, for one year, reckoning from the completion of each fiscal year.

PART XI.

The Army

SECTION 119—Military obligation is general, according to the ordinances of the law. The organization and size of the army and fleet shall be prescribed by law. The King, depending on the advice of the Minister of War and Marine, shall prescribe the formation of units for both within the prescriptions of the law. How much of the army shall be held under the flag shall be decided each year by the budget.

SECTION 120—The military courts are independent. In rendering justice, the Judge shall not be under any authority, but shall judge according to the law.

The Judges of the Military Appellate Court shall be permanent, but the permanency of the Judges of military courts of first instance shall be regulated by the law.

Judges of a military court of first instance cannot be held to account for their judicial work without the approval of the Military Appellate Court, and Appellate judges without the approval of the Court of Cassation. Judges of a Military Appellate Court can be transferred only by their own consent, and in the event of promotion to a higher position, and Judges of a military court of first instance in accordance with the ordinances of the law.

SECTION 121—The civil courts shall judge crimes which a civilian associated with the army commits, but during time of war military courts.

SECTION 122—No one, on reaching the age of 20 years, can enter State service or remain in it if he has not served his year according to the ordinances of the law or been excused from military service.

SECTION 123—For the maintenance of internal order, the military can be used only on the request of competent civil authorities.

SECTION 124—A foreign army cannot be taken into the service of our State, as also the army of our State cannot be placed in the service of any foreign State without the previous approval of the National Skupshtina.

PART XII.

Changes in the Constitution

SECTION 125—The National Skupshtina, with the King, shall decide about changes in the Constitution.

SECTION 126—A proposal that something be changed or supplemented in the Constitution can be made by the King or the National Skupshtina.

In such proposal must be named expressly all the points of the Constitution which should be changed or supplemented.

If the King has made the proposal, he shall impart this to the National Skupshtina, but the National Skupshtina can be prorogued at once afterward, and shall be convened anew after four months at longest.

If such proposal originated from the National Skupshtina, decision shall be made about it on the basis foreseen for decisions of legal (constitutional) proposals with a majority of three-fifths of the whole number of members.

If the proposal shall be adopted in this manner, the National Skupshtina shall be prorogued and convened anew at latest in a period of four months from the day when the proposal was adopted.

And in one and the other event the National Skupshtina can decide only about those changes and supplements of the Constitution which the proposal on the basis of which it was called together contains.

The National Skupshtina shall make decisions with a majority of half plus one of the total number of its members.

SECTION 127—In the event of war or general mobilization the National Skupshtina can suspend for the whole territory of the State, and for the event of an armed uprising for any single part of it, by law temporarily these rights of citizens: The right of assembly, coming together and taking counsel, freedom of movement, noninfringement of dwelling, correspondence and telegraphic communication. For the same reason the freedom of the press can be limited in the event of an armed uprising for the part of the State concerned.

PART XIII.

Transfer of Authority

SECTION 128—In the first session of the Skupshtina after the proclamation of the Constitution the Heir to the Throne Alexander as the Regent of King Peter I. in the sense of Section 58 of the Constitution shall take the oath:

"In the name of his Majesty King Peter I., I swear with the help of God that I will hold the Constitution inviolable, that I will rule according to it and the laws; that I will preserve the unity of the nation, the independence of the State and the integrity of the territory of the State, and that in all my efforts and work I will have the good of the nation before my eyes. So help me, God. Amen!"

SECTION 129—After this the national representatives in the sitting of the Skupshtina before the President of the Skupshtina shall take this oath:

"I [name] swear that with the help of God and by all that is most holy to me under the law and dearest to me on earth, I will hold true to the Constitution in my work as a representative, and that I will have ever the good of the King and the nation before my eyes and the unity of the State in my heart and mind."

SECTION 130—The provisions and provisional laws, with the signatures of the Provisional Government, published in the Official News, given out for the time from Dec. 1, 1918, until the entering into force of this Constitution, shall remain further in force as laws so far as they are not rescinded or changed by other laws.

Within the period of three months from the entering into life of this Constitution the Government shall lay before the Constitutional Committee all those provisions set forth for the time being in the first sitting which are to be annulled, and the Constitutional Committee shall render its decision as to what shall be annulled.

SECTION 131—Until the passing of laws regarding the organization of the Ministries, re-

garding the Council of State, regarding the Chief Control, regarding the order of business in the Council of State and regarding Ministerial responsibility, there shall be extended provisionally over the whole State the force of the corresponding laws of the Kingdom of Serbia, with changes and additions which shall be carried out in the manner foreseen in Section 133.

SECTION 132—The statute signed by the King Aug. 30, 1909, and published in the Serb News Feb. 26, 1911, shall remain in force until a new statute shall be passed in the sense of Section 57 of this Constitution.

SECTION 133—For the correlation of legislation and administration in the [newly] founded land a short course of procedure shall be established.

All legal proposals which have for their object the correlation of legislation and administration, originating either from the Government or from individual representatives, shall be referred through the President of the Skupshtina to a legislative committee.

The report of the legislative committee with the proposal which the committee has adopted shall be referred to the National Skupshtina for action. Regarding these legal proposals the Skupshtina shall decide by roll-call vote once and for all whether it shall accept or reject them. Before the vote each Parliamentary group may give short explanation through one representative.

Such rather brief procedure for correlation of legislation and administration in the land can be applied within five years from the day of entering into force of the Constitution; but this time can also be extended by law.

As long as the Constitutional Skupshtina shall last as a legislative Skupshtina the Constitutional Committee shall fulfill the duty of the legislative committee.

SECTION 134—After the entering into force of this Constitution there shall remain for the time being the provisional provincial administrations. A provincial Regent shall exercise administration through a chief of department under the direct supervision of the Minister of Internal Affairs, but as the organ of competent Ministers on the basis of laws and ordinances hitherto prevailing.

Laws passed after the entering into force of this Constitution cannot assign to provincial administrations new duties.

Regarding the progressive transfer of the business of the provincial administrations to the individual Ministries and to the individual departments, according to provisions set forth in the manner foreseen in Section 135, the Council of Ministers shall make decisions in agreement with the provincial Regent concerned.

As long as the provincial administrations shall be prolonged the subordinates of the several Ministries in the provinces are obliged to consult the opinion of the provincial Regent previous to a Ministerial decision for a project of theirs of general character or which bears on the official personnel.

Parties have the right of appeal to the Council of State as a first and last appeal about ad-

ministrative conflicts in which the provisional provincial administration decides. With respect to this duty, whatever is necessary is prepared in the Council of State. An administrative conflict is only between a private or legal person on the one side and an administrative authority on the other; and they arise there where by regulation or decision of an administrative authority the right of a private or legal person is injured contrary to legal provisions. According to this there is no conflict there where it is established by law for the provisional provincial Executive or administrative authority how he shall handle, judge or decide a matter.

SECTION 135—The project of a law about the division of the country into departments and for the establishment of departments (Sections 95 and 96), as also about the transfer of the previous provincial authority to the Ministerial and Departmental Governments (Section 134), the Government must present to the National Skupshtina for adoption within a period of four months. If the National Skupshtina should not act on these laws within a period of three months, the same shall be carried out under the provisions of Section 133 regarding the correlation of legislation and administration in the country; and in so far as these laws shall not be passed in accordance with this rather short method of procedure in the further time of two months, there shall be made by a decree of the King within one month a division of the country together with the apportionment of the provincial administration in the sense of Sections 95 and 96 of the Constitution. This decree can be changed only in a legal manner. If this division of the country should be made, not in accordance with the first nor the second sentence of this section, but in accordance with the third, then there shall be established in Chorvatia and Slavonia four departments.

Likewise, also, if the country be divided by higher decree, according to this section, Tzrna Gora (Montenegro), of 1913, with the region of Boka Kotorska, but without the circuits of Plevlje and Bijelopolje shall constitute a department and shall fulfill the functions of a department according to this Constitution.

In accordance with the law about the apportionment of departments, Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be divided into departments within their present bounds, until this shall be enacted by law, the circuits in Bosnia and Herzegovina shall constitute departments. Uniting of these departments shall be carried out by decision of the Departmental Skupshtinas of the departments concerned by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast within the limitations fixed by the third paragraph of Section 95 of the Constitution. Single communes or districts can be separated from their departments and annexed to another department within the present bounds of Bosnia and Herzegovina or outside of them, if their autonomous representatives consent to this, by a decision of three-fifths of the votes and the National Skupshtina approves this decision.

The circuits (zupanates) shall remain as units of State administration as far as they are not

abolished by law. The law shall regulate their circuit work.

Liquidation of the autonomous circuits shall be carried through in favor of the departments and districts as soon as the departments shall be organized.

SECTION 136—Until the new law about officials foreseen in Section 106 of the Constitution, the present law about the rights and duties of officials shall hold. The new law shall contain the transfers of authority in the whole compass and schedule of the officials of administration and shall be passed at furthest within three years from the entering into force of this Constitution, until which time the list of officials shall be extended and revised.

SECTION 137—The Presidents of the courts and all Judges to whom permanency is guaranteed by the Constitution or the law shall be maintained further in their positions and duties in court. In other regions than the former Kingdom of Serbia, permanency for the several Judges can be instituted within a period of one year from the adoption of this Constitution. In this time the Minister of Justice will form a commission of the Judges of the higher courts for these regions, with whom he shall formulate a decision, for what Judges by name this permanency shall not hold.

The necessary filling of administrative Presidencies and judicial positions shall be done according to the laws which are now being formulated.

Judges, who are appointed or shall be appointed in accordance with the law about the provisional filling of official positions during time of war or according to any other provisional law or decree, must pass their judicial examination within a year and a half after the entering into force of this Constitution. Whoever of them does not do this within the time decreed, shall be at once relieved from judicial duty.

The Court of Cassation in Belgrade, the Hundred Seven in Zagreb, the High Court in Sarajevo, the Great Court in Podgoritsa and the division of the Court of Cassation in Novy Sad shall continue as hitherto until the new establishment of one Court of Cassation for the whole land and shall be regarded as part of the Court of Cassation.

SECTION 138—The publishing—i. e., the circulation—of newspapers and printed matter can be forbidden if they stimulate hatred against the State as a whole, religious or race discord; likewise if they indirectly incite citizens to change the Constitution or the laws of the land by force, merely if it is seen clearly from the title that they thereby aim at such incitement of the citizens. The provisions of Section 13, Paragraph 3, about the enforcement of suppression, apply also here. If express necessity arises these provisions can be annulled by law.

SECTION 139—Until a law shall be passed about privileges in the sense of Section 117 of the Constitution, all privileges assigned until the day of the proclamation of the Constitution shall be reviewed in the manner foreseen in Section 133 of the Constitution. In the privilege for the cutting of State forests the terms

fixed in the review shall have retroactive force from Dec. 1, 1918.

SECTION 140—When this Constitution shall enter into force the Constitutional Skupshtina called Nov. 28, 1920, shall be transformed into an ordinary legislative Skupshtina with the time of duration provided by the electoral law for the Constitutional Skupshtina.

SECTION 141—Until a new law is passed regarding the election of representatives on the basis of the Constitution, that law shall continue in force on the basis of which the elections were held on Nov. 28, 1920, with whatever changes shall be made in conformity with this Constitution. These changes shall be made in the manner provided in Section 133 of this Constitution and shall have force as soon as they receive the sanction of the King.

The committee can make the necessary changes in time also, which that law prescribes, but besides that it is empowered to prescribe the manner, too, in which shall be made the

apportionment of the mandates to the several candidate lists in proportion to the number of votes.

PART XIV.

Concluding Ordinances

SECTION 142—This Constitution with the transfer of authority shall come into force when the King signs it, but shall take on binding force when it is published in the Official News. From that day all legal provisions which might be contrary to it shall cease to have force.

The President of the Council of Ministers and all the Ministers shall care for the enforcement of this Constitution.

We recommend to our Provisional Ministry for the Constitutional Skupshtina and Unification of the Laws that this Constitution be published, and to all the Ministers that they care for its enforcement; we enjoin the authorities then that they act according to it, and one and all that they submit to it.

THE END OF THE HAPSBURG

*Text of the Dethronement Act which debars any member of the House of Hapsburg from assuming the Hungarian throne, by election or otherwise—
Debate that preceded the passage of the bill*

THE text of the Dethronement act of Nov. 6, 1921, which deposed the Hapsburgs from all future title to the throne of Hungary, together with the Government report recommending the bill to the National Assembly, is printed below. The third paragraph is somewhat ambiguous, and might, so far as the Hapsburgs are concerned, be construed "at a suitable time" as nullifying the first and second paragraphs. The Ambassadors' Conference had demanded that Hungary pass a law deposing the Hapsburgs and revoking the Pragmatic Sanction, to some extent under pressure from the Little Entente. Dr. Benesh, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, had stated with considerable definiteness that the Little Entente was determined, after the last adventure of Karl, to secure once and for all the deposition of the Hapsburgs. The debate in the Hungarian National Assembly, when the Government introduced this bill, showed that both the Government and the majority of parties at present represented were bitterly opposed to the measure.

Because of the ambiguity of the third paragraph the representatives of the Great

Entente informed the Hungarian Government in a note (Nov. 5) that the bill was inadequate, as it did not expressly exclude the members of the House of Hapsburg from election as King. This occurred on the day (Nov. 5) on which the bill was passed in the Hungarian National Assembly. Subsequently (Nov. 8) the Hungarian Government issued a declaration, subject to ratification by the Assembly, correcting the ambiguity of the statute by an interpretation which definitely bars the election of a Hapsburg as King.

REPORT RECOMMENDING THE BILL

The text of the Government report recommending the bill that deposed the Hapsburgs, followed by the text of the law, is as follows:

To the sorely tried Hungarian Nation the time has come for further severe trials. In connection with the recent events the demand has been made of the Hungarian State to declare that its crowned King is deprived of his throne and his dynasty of its right of succession. The Hungarian State has never been faced with so hard a decision as this. Foreigners are now interfering with the independence of Hungary, guaranteed by the Peace Treaty, and with her internal affairs. They are demanding a measure to which Hungary has never bound

herself, the execution of which is not laid upon her by the Treaty of Trianon, and which cannot be brought into harmony with the basic principles of her Constitution. In case the demand is refused, they threaten the country with armed attack. The Government cannot take the responsibility of exposing the nation, deprived of its rights by the World War and the devastations of both revolutions, to a fresh war which would menace the very existence of the fatherland, for it places all its hopes of renewed prosperity and power for the country in the industrious habits which may be developed in peace. It has, therefore, resolved, in view of the crisis in the country—after resorting in vain to every possible peaceful means of maintaining peace, averting the menace to the existence of the nation, and safeguarding the free expression of the people's will—to bring the following bill before the National Assembly in fulfillment of the demand of foreign powers.

The bill satisfies the above-mentioned demand of the powers by declaring expressly in Clause 1 that King Charles's royal rights have ceased to exist, and on the other hand in Clause 2 by repealing the Pragmatic Sanction contained in Acts I. and II. of the year 1723, and all other laws upon which the succession of the House of Hapsburg is based. Consequently the bill decrees at the same time that the privilege of electing a King reverts to the nation. It was, however, necessary to provide that the extinction of the succession of the dynasty could not be held to involve any further consequences affecting the constitutional form of the Hungarian State. The bill, therefore, provides that the

nation retains the constitution of a kingdom unaltered. By this provision the National Assembly, in accordance with Clause 2 of Act. II. of the year 1920, which gives it the right, as the legal representative of Hungarian State sovereignty, to determine the method by which the State shall be governed, finally decides the future constitutional form by declaring for the ancient institution of royalty for the future in conformity with the feelings and traditions of the Hungarian Nation.

[From the *Prager Presse*, Nov. 4, morning edition.]

TEXT OF DETHRONEMENT ACT

1. King Charles IV.'s rights as a ruler have ceased to exist.
2. The Pragmatic Sanction, contained in Acts I. and II. of the year 1723, which determines the succession to the throne of the House of Austria (*Domus austriaca*), has lost its validity, and thereby the right of free election of a King has reverted to the nation.
3. The nation retains the ancestral Constitution as a kingdom unchanged, but postpones the choice of a King to a later date and instructs the Government to make proposals in this matter at a suitable time.
4. This act shall come into force on the day of its promulgation.

[From the *Neue Freie Presse*, Nov. 3, morning edition.]

DEBATE ON DETHRONEMENT BILL

The measure permanently debarring Charles and the rest of the Hapsburg



Typical harbor on the south shore of the Island of Madeira, 400 miles off the west coast of Morocco, to which island the former Emperor of Austria-Hungary has been exiled



(© Keystone View Co.)

Ex-Emperor Charles and his wife, former Empress Zita, kneeling while high mass was being celebrated at a railway station near Budapest. They had just arrived in Hungary and still expected to become the rulers of that country

family from the throne was passed by the Hungarian National Assembly on Nov. 3, 1921, but with great reluctance—under the imminent threat of armed invasion by the neighboring States of the Little Entente. The debate that preceded the passage of the bill is a matter of historical interest. It was, in part, as follows:

Count Bethlen, Premier—The bill now before the National Assembly is not a consequence of normal constitutional development, but the result of the events of the past two weeks. It makes a break in the development of 400 years by a stroke of the pen. Events had matured rapidly as the result of two circumstances: First, the frivolous attempt to which the King and the dynasty have been sacrificed [cries from members of the Friedrich Party: "Long live the King!"] Answering cries from members of the Smallholders' Party: "You are a disgrace to Hungary!" that unprincipled attempt to which the King, the dynasty and the peace of the nation have been sacrificed; secondly, the eagerness and greed which our neighbors showed as a result of the attempt, with the object of interfering in our internal affairs

and compelling us by force of arms to yield to their demands. The events are too close for any one who played a part in them to claim to judge impartially. History will pronounce judgment on these events, and I, for my part, submit to that judgment.

* * * Hitherto we have been represented as the disturbers of the peace, desirous of interfering with armed force in the affairs of others and pursuing aggressive ends. Now Europe can see for herself that it is we who have saved the peace of Central Europe. Although we did nothing to endanger peace, yet it was endangered. This is explained by the fact that within the Carpathian basin Hungary has not ceased to attract all the peoples living in the basin. The fact that the Hapsburg problem has been raised in this form is, perhaps, also to be explained by the fact that, although from the international point of view it is clearly an internal question for Hungary, it becomes a question of foreign policy only if it is true that even the dying theories and traditions which the peoples living around us connect with the dynasty are still strong enough to break up the unity of neighboring States. [Applause continuing for several minutes.] It has not hitherto been clear what need there is, from the point

of view of defense, for a federation of States with 42,000,000 subjects to take hostile action against a State with 7,500,000 inhabitants. In the light of present events we can explain it thus: either that federation is necessary—in which case it is a confession of inner weakness by those States—or else it is unnecessary from the point of view of defense, and then it aims at aggression.

Count Apponyi—Article 73 of the Peace Treaty stipulates for the independence and integrity of Hungary. * * * Moreover, the Peace Treaty of Trianon contains the Covenant of the League of Nations. No armed interference or threat of armed attack is permissible until the matter has been before a court of arbitration. Only if one party does not submit to the award can there be any question of military action for a period of three months reckoned from the summons of the League of Nations. A conflict has arisen between Hungary and her neighbors. Hungary has therefore the right to demand that the League of Nations shall require her to submit the matter to arbitration. Any attempt at or threat of armed intervention is a flagrant

breach of the Covenant of the League of Nations, against which we must protest with such vehemence that we are heard beyond the frontiers of our country. [Stormy applause.]

Nobody deplores the recent unfortunate events more than I. Nobody has more cause for regret than the legitimists. Many patriots were in the throes of a hard mental struggle, and each individual decision must be judged historically, for patriots might in all good faith think this or that point of view best for their country. The Government Ministers followed the voice of conscience, and took steps which they assumed to be essential in the interests of the country. They used armed force to prevent the return of the King. The neighboring States ought to have learned this with the utmost satisfaction, since the Hungarian Nation, on its own initiative, adopted a standpoint which they demanded. But they were not satisfied. The question is now no longer one of the honor and dignity of the nation, but of the personal safety of every citizen, since the surrender of a Hungarian, and that the King, is demanded. The Government has not been able to resist. But I regard it as my duty not only to protest in the interest of all Hungarian citizens but to give expression to the burning sorrow of all Hungarians at this violation of the legal security of all Hungarian citizens and of the sacred crown, which embodies the glory and dignity of the nation. * * * [Count Apponyi with twelve other Deputies leaves the Chamber.]

The President of the National Assembly, Gaál—According to Count Apponyi, the bill which the National Assembly is just about to pass is invalid. According to Paragraph 1 of Act I. of the year 1920, the National Assembly constitutes the sole representative of national sovereignty. * * * From this it appears that at the present moment the Hungarian Nation has only one constitutional and legal representative body, that is the National Assembly. Count Apponyi himself took part in passing this act. I must, therefore, state that Count Apponyi's declaration is contrary to the law. The freedom of speech of the Deputies cannot go so far as to allow them to cast doubt upon the validity of the existing laws. [Exclamations of approval from all parts of the House.]

Deputy Rassay proposes that in Clause 1 the provision be included that all members of the House of Hapsburg, now living and in future, should be excluded forever from the reversion of the Hungarian throne.

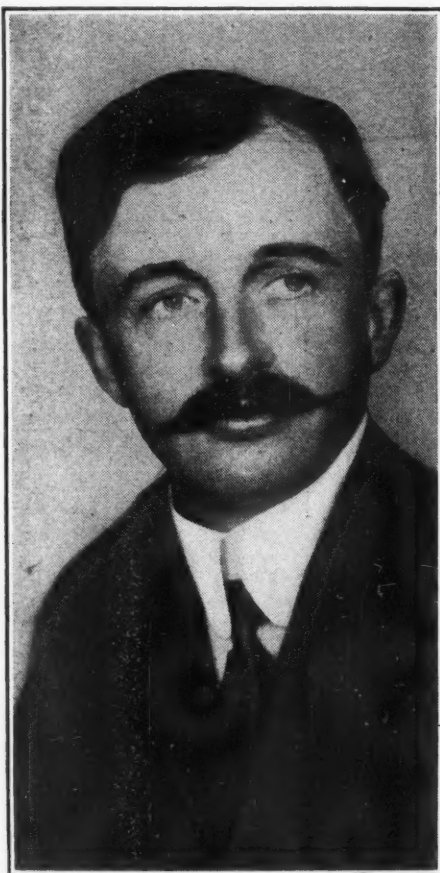
Count Bethlen begs that the clause be adopted in its original form.

Deputy Rubinek [reporter] makes the same request.

The bill is passed in its original form.

[From the *Prager Presse* and *Neue Freie Presse*, Nov. 5, 1921, evening edition, and Nov. 6, morning edition.]

On Nov. 6 the Dethronement act was promulgated and came into force. Two days later the Hungarian Government, at the demand of the Great Entente, issued the declaration that removed the ambiguity of Paragraph 3 and satisfied both the Council of Ambassadors and the Little Entente.



(Keystone View Co.)

EX-EMPEROR CHARLES HAPSBURG
Whom the Allies have banished to Madeira
and barred from the Hungarian throne

IRISH RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE TREATY

Historic debate that ended in acceptance of the covenant making Ireland a Free State with rights of a British Dominion—Resignation of de Valera and election of Arthur Griffith—Provisional Government headed by Michael Collins

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 18, 1922]

AS the signing of the Irish Free State treaty in London was the outstanding Irish event of December, so the ratification of that treaty by the Dail Eireann at Dublin was the great event of January. After long and bitter debate, which bade fair to create a dangerous split in the ranks of the Irish patriots themselves, the treaty was ratified, on Jan. 7, by a vote of 64 to 57. Thus by a majority of 7 the anxiously awaited decision was determined in favor of the covenant making Ireland a Free State within the British Empire.

Events leading up to this conclusion were at times of a tense and dramatic nature. At the resumption of the debate, on Dec. 19, Arthur Griffith and Eamon de Valera stood out prominently as the leaders for and against the treaty. With sincerity conceded to both, a plain, common-sense, reasonable man was found opposed to a very fluent, loud-voiced, unbending extremist who believed that Ireland was losing all she had fought for. As the mover for ratification of the treaty, Mr. Griffith won sympathetic cheers when he referred to the heavy task placed upon the shoulders of the London plenipotentiaries. He declared they had brought back with them the evacuation of British troops, who had been in Ireland for 700 years; they had got a full right of fiscal control and equality for Ireland with all the other nations of the British Commonwealth. Yet they were told the treaty was a poor thing, and the Irish people were to go back on it and fight for a quibble. He declared that 95 per cent. of the Irish people were for the treaty. The seconder of the motion was Michael Collins, who spoke in the direct form of a man of action. Mr. de Valera followed, and asked for rejection of

the treaty, because it would not make Ireland a republic and would not bring peace to the nation.

At this session Mr. Barton told the dramatic story of the last hour of the Downing Street negotiations, at which the treaty had been signed. He said there was a proposal to refer certain matters to the Dail. Mr. Lloyd George told them they were there as plenipotentiaries, and they must accept or reject. "He gave us," said Mr. Barton, "till 10 o'clock to make up our minds whether we should stand by our proposals for external association, face war, and maintain a republic, or whether we should accept inclusion in the British Empire and make peace. The responsibility for that war was to rest directly on two of the delegates who refused to sign. For myself I declared I could not accept that responsibility." Mr. Barton accordingly signed the agreement. This disclosure brought the unofficial English answer that Mr. Lloyd George had not intended to hand the Irish delegates an ultimatum of peace or war, but in the stress of that fateful hour, when a decision had to be conveyed to the Ulster Premier, Sir James Craig, he had wished to impress upon them most earnestly the consequences of rejection.

The meeting of the 20th was largely taken up with discussion of "Document 2," or de Valera's alternative treaty, which had been the subject of argument for three days in secret session. As a cat out of a bag, de Valera's oath was read by Mr. Milroy, after demanding to know if they were to take the responsibility before all humanity and all history of sending young men and women to their death for that. The oath ran as follows: "I do swear to bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of Ireland and to the treaty of association of Ireland with the British Commonwealth of nations and to recognize the

King of Great Britain as head of the associated States." Mr. de Valera later explained the difference between his oath and that contained in the treaty. He said: "The word 'Constitution' occurs in both oaths, but in one it refers to a Constitution in which there is not a vestige of British authority. The other oath is one in which the British King must be recognized as the head of the Irish State. There is a tremendous difference, though the same words are used in both."

The Dail Eireann on Dec. 23 adjourned until Jan. 3. During this interval many local public bodies adopted resolutions in favor of ratification of the treaty. Many Deputies received telegrams urging them to support the covenant. The Clare County Council made de Valera their representative in the Dail, aware of the strong trend of public opinion, by adopting a resolution which requested him to work for the treaty. The press was almost unanimously for it.

A statement issued by Premier Lloyd George on Dec. 28 threw new light on the broad liberal principles of the treaty, and left little but the form of allegiance to the British Crown for the de Valera faction to continue its opposition upon. It read as follows:

The treaty places Ireland on an equality with the other States of the empire, gives Ireland the same claim to membership in the League of Nations, and every right that Canada has in law, fact and constitutional practice, and not merely rejection but alteration even of the treaty by Ireland or Great Britain would render it null and void. This would, indeed, be deplorable in the interests of both countries.

The British Government have gone to their utmost limit in the treaty, and to reopen the discussion, which was closed only after the most exhaustive consideration of every point, would be a fruitless proceeding and is impossible. A committee consisting of British Ministers, presided over by the Colonial Secretary, has been set up to deal with the evacuation of the British forces, the settling of an amnesty and the making of all necessary arrangements on the British side for transferring full executive responsibility to an Irish Provisional Government. The work of this committee, which had been in continuous session up to Christmas, and had proposed to sit through the Christmas holidays, is now unavoidably held up pending the approval of the treaty. But on approval it would be carried through with the utmost possible dispatch.

It is the intention of the British Government to hand over without delay their responsibilities to a Provisional Government which will function during the period of transition required for the

[American Cartoon]



—©Chicago Tribune

JUST AS SHE IS GETTING IRELAND
QUIETED DOWN

setting up of the Irish Free State administration.

When the Dail Eireann reassembled on Jan. 3 it plunged at once into a stormy debate. The Republicans signalized the occasion by issuing a new organ, The Republic of Ireland, to represent their principles. On its committee of directors were Charles Burgess, Austin Stack, J. J. O'Kelly, Mme. Markievicz, Miss MacSwiney, Sean

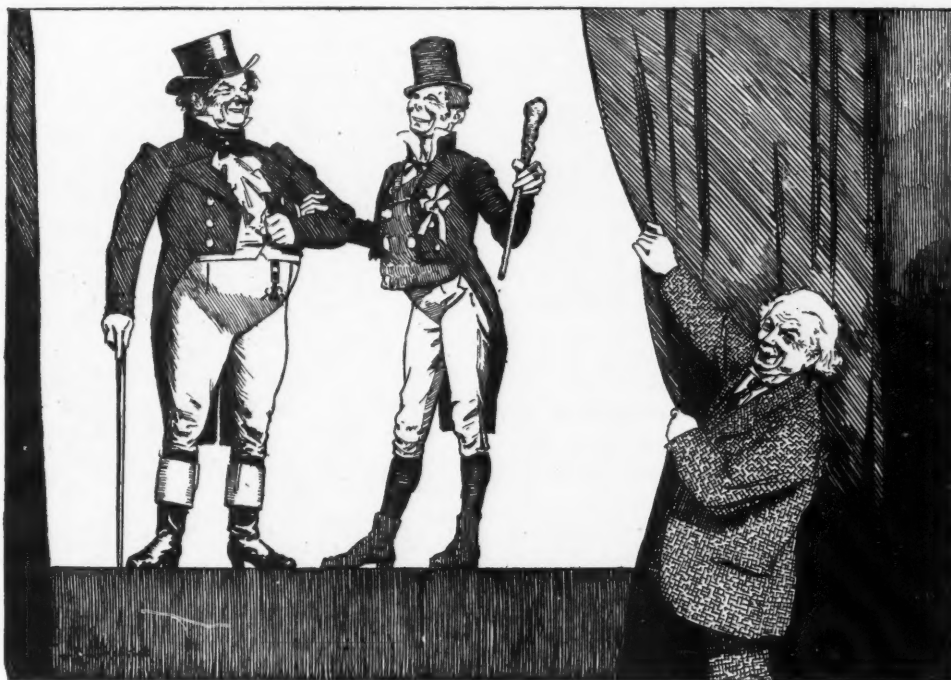
[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

THERE'S NO HOLDING A THIRSTY HORSE

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Amsterdamer, Amsterdam

THE IRISH QUESTION SETTLED

LLOYD GEORGE: "Viola!"

Etchingham, Erskine Childers and E. O'Callaghan. In its first issue the paper declared that "war, the exposure of ourselves to wounds, toil and death, is as much our duty in a just cause as any other mode of sustaining justice."

A peace committee was formed on Jan. 4 by nine members, representing both parties, to try to discover a formula on which the two sides could agree. This committee reached a temporary agreement the next day, but de Valera vetoed it. At the public session of the Dail in the afternoon of Jan. 6 de Valera caused a sensation by offering his resignation; but he subsequently agreed to Griffith's plan to wait for a vote on the treaty if taken within twenty-four hours.

Jan. 7, 1922, proved to be a notable date in the history of Ireland. Ratification of the treaty with England was voted by 64 to 57, a majority of 7. The last hours of the debate were made memorable by a bitter attack on Michael Collins by Charles Burgess, who questioned the former's military

record. The vote in favor of the treaty was received with cheers, but was taken by de Valera as proof of his defeat. He rose immediately and said:

It will be, of course, my duty to resign, but I don't know if I will do it just now. But I have to say to the country and to the world that the Irish people established a republic. A vote of Dail is simply approval; the republic can only be disestablished by the Irish people. Therefore, until the Irish people in regular manner disestablish it this Republican Constitution goes on. Whatever arrangements are made, this is the supreme sovereign body in the nation. This is the body to which the nation looks for its supreme Government, and it must remain, no matter who is the Executive, until the Irish nation has disestablished it.

Subsequently in attempting to say a last word he broke down completely, a pathetic figure as he almost fell back into his seat and covered his eyes with his hands. Many of the President's supporters gave way to tears. Michael Collins, in pleading for a united committee of both parties to take over the machinery of Government, said: "The President has the same position in

my heart as he always had." After cheers had been given for the republic, Charles Burgess declared that so far as he was concerned he would see that discipline was kept in the army.

After a heated debate on Jan. 9, de Valera finally resigned the Presidency of the Irish Republic. On permitting himself to be offered for re-election, he was beaten in the Dail Eireann by a vote of 60 to 58. Both he and his Government thereupon passed out of official existence. On the following day Arthur Griffith was unanimously elected President by 64 Deputies of the Dail Eireann after de Valera and his followers had left the Chamber. The Dail then approved a Cabinet presented by Mr. Griffith, as follows:

MICHAEL COLLINS—Minister of Finance.
GEORGE GAVIN DUFFY—Foreign Affairs.
EAMON J. DUGGAN—Home Affairs.
WILLIAM T. COSGROVE—Local Government.
KAVIN O'HIGGINS—Economic Affairs.
RICHARD MULCAHY—Defense.

The Griffith Cabinet held its first meeting on Jan. 11 and discussed plans for taking over the administration from Dublin Castle and for obtaining the release of the 1,010 political prisoners in Ireland and England. On the 12th King George issued a proclamation of amnesty "in respect to political offenses committed in Ireland prior to the truce of last July."

Mr. Griffith and his Cabinet summoned the Southern Parliament to meet on Jan. 14, and on that day it assembled, in Mansion House, Dublin, where it formally ratified the treaty with Great Britain, created a Provisional Government, and set up the Irish Free State.

The Southern Parliament, which was technically different from the Dail Eireann, should have consisted of 126 members, including the four from Trinity College; but the abstention of Eamon de Valera and the other Republicans reduced the number to 65. The one surprise of the session was that Michael Collins, and not Arthur Griffith, was nominated as Premier or head of the Provisional Government. The change of plan was to avoid the criticism that would come from the Republicans if Griffith became both the Premier and the President of the Dail Eireann.

Pierce Beasley moved and Joseph McBride seconded the resolution "that the instrument entitled 'the treaty between

[American Cartoon]



—Springfield Republican

It's only taken about 750 years, but it seems longer

Great Britain and Ireland—articles of agreement signed in London on the 6th day of December, 1921,' by the members of the Irish and British delegations respectively be and is hereby approved." With the same businesslike dispatch it was moved, seconded and carried, "that a Provisional Government be and is hereby constituted composed of the following members: Michael Collins, William Cosgrove, Eamon Duggan, Patrick Hogan, Finian Lynch, Joseph McGrath, John MacNeill, Kevin O'Higgins and such other persons if and as determined from time to time by the Ministers for the time being." All are Ministers of the Dail Cabinet except Professor John MacNeill, who is Speaker of the Dail, and Finian Lynch, who was Secretary of the Irish delegation at London.

Arthur Griffith then stated that the Provisional Government had been set up to supervise the carrying out of the treaty. The Dail Eireann, he said, would remain in being until the treaty had been executed and a general election held in Ireland. He concluded by making a plea for fair play for the new Administration.

The Southern Parliament under the Home Rule act had met, but it will never meet again, and so before it adjourned the minutes of its proceedings were read over and approved. All the members present signed them, and then adjourned to a garden to be photographed as a memento of the historic occasion.

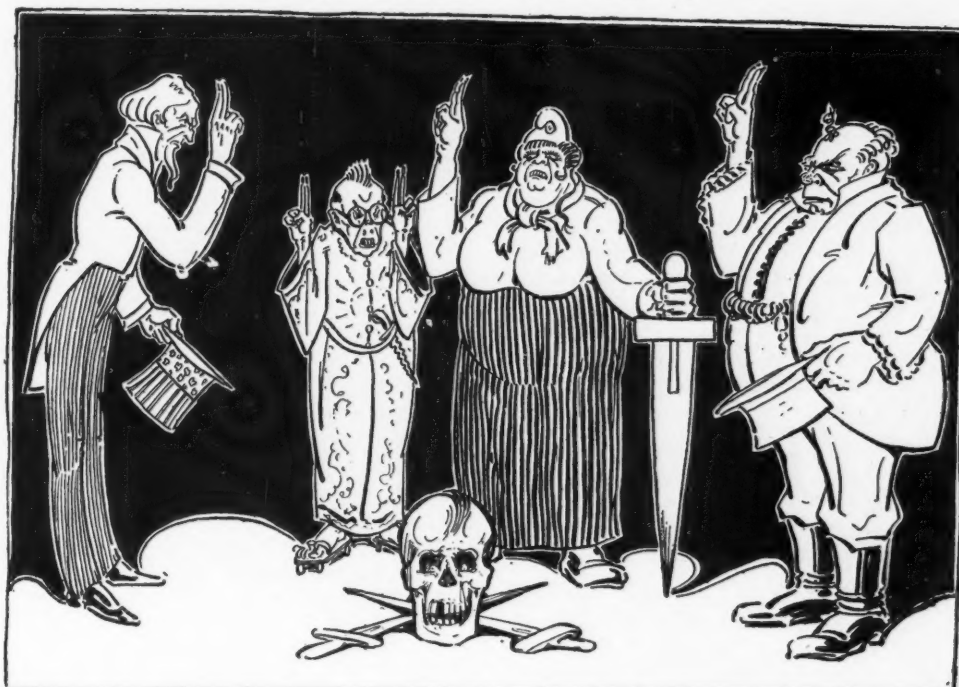
The next day—Jan. 16—Michael Collins and the Irish Provisional Government took over Dublin Castle amid public rejoicings, and received in their hands all the powers of Government. The cheering crowd commented freely on the fact that the taking over of the ancient British stronghold fell to Collins, who until a few months ago was a fugitive sought by Dublin Castle. He and the other Ministers, who received a salute from the military and police guards, went to the Chief Secretary's office and then to the Council Chamber, where the formal transfer was carried out. Viscount Fitz-Alan, Lord Lieutenant, and the chief offi-

cials were present. An official report of the proceedings was issued as follows:

Mr. Collins handed to the Lord Lieutenant a copy of the treaty in which acceptance of its provisions by himself and his colleagues had been endorsed. The other members of the Provisional Government were then introduced. The Lord Lieutenant congratulated Mr. Collins and his colleagues and informed them that they were now duly installed as a Provisional Government, and that in conformity with Article XVII. of the treaty he would at once communicate with the British Government, in order that the necessary steps might be taken for the transfer to the Provisional Government of the powers and machinery requisite for discharge of its duties. He wished them every success in the task they had undertaken, and expressed the earnest hope that under their auspices the ideal of a happy, free and prosperous Ireland would be attained.

When Lord Fitz-Alan drove from the Castle he was cheered. The evacuation of Ireland by the British Army, consisting of 60,000 men, began the next day. Ten battalions had already been ordered to embark. Peace with England seemed at last assured to the Irish people.

[Dutch Cartoon on the Arms Conference]



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

A PERMANENT RESULT FROM WASHINGTON

"The high contracting parties undertake that they will only be slain by each other"

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

Senate investigation of charges against officers of the American Expeditionary Force—Supreme Court decision forbids a manufacturer to control retail prices

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1922]

THE Senate Committee appointed to investigate the charges made by Senator Watson of Georgia against officers of the American Expeditionary Force held sittings on Dec. 20 and 21, and then adjourned until after the holidays, when the sessions were resumed, beginning Jan. 4. Some of the charges made were that officers had shot down enlisted men in cold blood; that they had made courtesans of army nurses, that many men were hung without court-martial, &c. The cases thus far heard have tended to disprove these assertions.

Thus charges were made that Major H. L. Opie of Staunton, Va., as a battalion commander of the 116th Infantry, had deliberately and without provocation shot five enlisted men. Major Opie, who was decorated by President Wilson with the Distinguished Service Cross and by the French with the Croix de Guerre and the Legion of Honor, took the stand and denied the charges absolutely. Only one of the thirteen witnesses who were called testified against Major Opie. Lemuel O. Smith of Dublin, Va., swore that he had seen Major Opie shoot to death in a dugout on the Verdun front a young Virginia soldier named William Woolwine. He named three comrades, who, he said, were with him at the time. These three men in turn testified that Smith's accusation was false, while the soldier said by Smith to have been murdered was shown to have met a gallant death in battle.

As his comrades, one after another, denied the charge made against Major Opie, that young officer almost lost control of himself, and he wept when Colonel John Philip Hill of Baltimore testified that no more courageous, high-minded officer than Opie served under the American flag in France.

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

The resale price maintenance policy adopted by the Beechnut Packing Com-

pany of New York, by which it controlled prices of its food and other products to consumers, was condemned as illegal on Jan. 3 by the United States Supreme Court. An order of the Federal Trade Commission requiring the company to desist from its methods was upheld by the court. The decision was rendered by a five to four vote, the Justices dissenting from the majority of the court being Holmes, McReynolds, McKenna and Brandeis. Opposing views were read by Justices Holmes and McReynolds, in which the practices of the company were defended and held to be entirely legal. The order of the commission that was thus upheld by the court provided that the company, its officers, Directors, agents, servants and employees, cease from directly or indirectly recommending, requiring, or by any means bringing about the resale of Beechnut products by distributors, whether by wholesale or retail, according to any system of prices fixed or established by the company.

On Jan. 9, the Supreme Court, ruling for the second time on the North Dakota statute imposing a special excise tax against corporations, joint stock companies and associations organized under the laws of other States and doing business in that State, declared it invalid, so far as it had been applied to interstate railroads. The case in which the decision was rendered was an appeal from the United States District Court, which sustained a tax assessed upon the business of railroads within the the States. The tax was opposed on the ground that it was levied on interstate commerce, and for a period when the railroads were under Federal control, and when the railroad corporation was not doing business within the State.

GREATER SAFETY ON RAILWAYS

The Interstate Commerce Commission on Jan. 11 issued a sweeping order directing forty-nine railroad systems to equip con-

gested sections of their main lines with automatic train control devices, to be operated in connection with all road engines. The carriers were allowed until March 15 to show cause why the order should not become effective. It was specified that under the Transportation act the installation must be completed by July 1, 1924. Figures were presented to show the heavy cost of railroads caused by wrecks, and proof was advanced that these would not have occurred if there had been adequate automatic control devices. In directing the roads to make the installations, which would entail considerable expense, the commission stated that investigation by a special train council committee had demonstrated that the devices were practicable.

AID AGAINST PROFITEERS

Attorney General Daugherty, on Dec. 27, addressed a letter to every State Attorney General, in which he urged close co-operation between State and Federal law-enforcement officers, and suggested that the separate States should call conferences between Federal and County District Attorneys to attain this object. Violations of the liquor, food and fuel supply laws should be prosecuted without duplication of State or Federal effort, Mr. Daugherty declared. Though the Department of Justice did not seek to evade any of its responsibilities, he said, it was his opinion that the initiative for the enforcement of these laws lay with the State authorities. The majority of cases of retail profiteering, the Attorney General held, were interstate matters, and rested with individual States for correction.

Investigation by the Federal Trade Commission of the housefurnishing goods industry was directed in a resolution adopted by the Senate on Jan. 4. The resolution, sponsored by Senator Kenyon of Iowa, provided that the inquiry should embrace the causes of factory, wholesale and retail price conditions in the industry. There was no record vote on the resolution. The debate which preceded its adoption was characterized by a general attack on profiteers, trusts and combinations in restraint of trade. The commission was defended by several Senators, who contended that it could never be a "popular" Government agency because of the nature of its work.

BAN ON UNION ABUSES

The Lockwood Committee of the New York State Legislature served a warning, Dec. 20, on upward of 1,000,000 members of labor unions in New York State, to the effect that it would expect them to eliminate existing abuses and regulations that limit efficiency, retard production and violate the law, and that if the reforms were not made voluntarily, legislation would be enacted to remedy the abuses. The communication embodied approximately fifty reforms and abuses. The latter cover restriction of membership, high initiation fees, limitation on the number of apprentices, the issuance of permit cards to non-union men, the auditing of books by independent chartered accountants, and the assumption of power by unions to hale their employers before them and to impose fines on them for infraction of union rules.

On Jan. 10, the Building Trades Council unanimously approved resolutions embodying practically all of the above reforms, as changed and modified somewhat at conferences between their representatives and Samuel Untermyer, counsel for the Lockwood committee.

WAR FINANCE LOANS

The War Finance Corporation showed, in the annual report submitted to Congress on Dec. 22, that it was doing business at the rate of several millions of dollars a day. Up to Nov. 30, the date of the report, the corporation said, its advances for agricultural and live stock purposes totaled more than \$82,000,000, of which the principal items were loans on cotton aggregating \$22,000,000; on grain, \$16,000,000; live stock, \$13,000,000, and for general agricultural purposes, \$34,000,000.

In addition to the agricultural financing, advances were reported aggregating \$51,500,000 on exports, of which the largest items were \$28,000,000 on cotton and \$11,500,000 on grain.

The loans were distributed as follows: Colorado, \$3,000; Georgia, \$208,000; Idaho, \$13,000; Illinois, \$46,000; Iowa, \$899,000; Kansas, \$138,000; Louisiana, \$375,000; Minnesota, \$196,000; Missouri, \$168,000; Montana, \$329,000; Nebraska, \$375,000; New Mexico, \$16,000; North Dakota, \$902,000; Ohio, \$100,000; Oklahoma, \$28,000; South Carolina, \$655,000; South Dakota, \$559,000; Texas, \$170,000; Utah,

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

TRYING TO SPILL YOUR UNCLE

\$602,000; Virginia, \$250,000; Wisconsin, \$59,000 and Wyoming, \$806,000.

FARM CONFERENCE SUMMONED

President Harding on Dec. 30 instructed Secretary Wallace, head of the Department of Agriculture, to call a national conference in Washington for the consideration of all phases of the country's agricultural problems. In a letter to Mr. Wallace the President declared it "unthinkable that with this country's vast agricultural resources the United States should develop into a distinctly industrial nation." To illuminate the matter, he would have a conference to consider, first, the solution for temporary agricultural difficulties, and, secondly, to make a survey of the future and lay down a general policy that would co-ordinate with governmental policies toward general business and manufacturing. Secretary Wallace expressed satisfaction with the President's suggestion, and set about its execution at as early a date as possible.

In the final estimates for the year, issued by the Department of Agriculture on Dec. 28, the important farm crops of the United States for 1921 were valued at \$5,675,877,000. This was almost \$3,400,000,000 less than the crops for 1920 were worth and \$8,000,000,000 less than was received by the farmers in 1919, when high prices prevailed for farm products. The

values were based on prices paid to farmers on Dec. 1, and the crops comprised about 90 per cent. of the value of all farm crops.

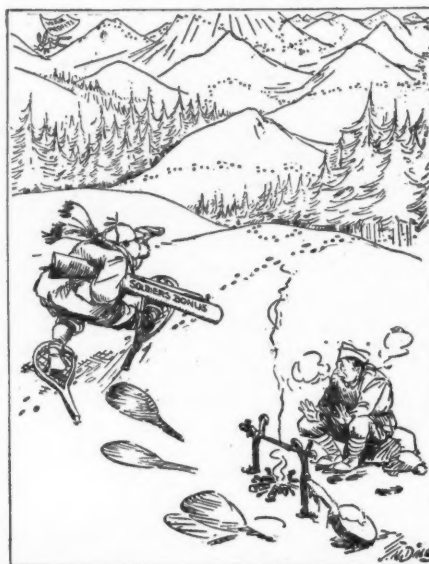
There were only two \$1,000,000,000 crops in 1921, corn and hay, while in 1920 four crops were valued at a billion dollars or more. Production was below that of 1920 for almost every crop.

IMMIGRATION QUOTAS

The number of immigrants permitted to land in this country up to the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1922, and also those admissible for the month of January, as made public at Ellis Island, N. Y., Jan. 4, was as follows:

	Remainder for January.	Remainder for Year.
Armenia	92	92
Austria	1,489	4,669
Belgium	66	66
Czechoslovakia	2,159	2,159
Denmark	1,127	2,721
Finland	778	2,140
France	1,138	2,691
Germany	13,608	57,706
Italy	1,465	1,465
Netherlands	720	2,058
Norway	2,425	9,263
Rumania	753	753
Russia	6,848	18,246
Sweden	3,991	14,776
United Kingdom	15,430	50,300

[American Cartoon]



—Providence Journal

CONGRESS STARTS ON A LONG TRAIL

The following countries have exceeded their quotas for immigrants admissible during the remainder of the fiscal year: Australia, Africa, Atlantic Islands, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Other Asia, Other Europe, Palestine, Poland, Portugal, New Zealand, Spain, Syria, and Turkey and Smyrna district.

ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

During the debate on the anti-lynching bill, fathered by Representative Dyer of Missouri, statistics were submitted to show that in the last thirty-five years there had been 4,096 lynchings in this country, and of that number only 810 of the victims were charged with offenses against women. Opposition to the bill was expressed almost solely by Southern Democrats, and was for the most part temperate. They made their fight on the ground that Congress had no authority to pass such legislation, that such an act would be a serious encroachment upon the sovereign powers of the States, and that it would not cure the evil, but would have a tendency to encourage the outrages which led to lynchings. Advocates of the bill declared that its provisions were simple and sensible. One section provided for the punishment of officials who should fail to do their duty. Another was to punish those who participate in lynchings, and a third provided for fining communities in which the crimes occurred.

RELEASE OF DEBS

Announcement was made at the White House on Dec. 23 that President Harding had commuted the sentences of twenty-four so-called political prisoners, including Eugene V. Debs, who were convicted under the Espionage act and other wartime laws and sentenced to from two to twenty years in prison. The releases from prison took place on Christmas Day. A statement issued from the White House said in part:

The list, in the main, is made up of those who opposed the war in one way or another, and it is made up of less than a third of I. W. W. prisoners, and these have either expressed full penitence or are booked for deportation. The Department of Justice has given no recommendation in behalf of the advocates of sabotage or the destruction of Government by force, and the President let it be known he would not consider such cases.

No comment was made by the President on

the case of Debs. The President and the Attorney General had given very extended consideration to the Debs petitions, and it is known that the fact that he had twice been the Presidential candidate of a million voters had its influence in reaching a decision favorable to his release.

The President expressed the wish that it be stated that the grant of clemency in the cases acted upon does not question the justice of any action of the courts in enforcing the law in a time of national peril, but he feels the ends of justice have been fairly met in view of the changed conditions. The vast majority of so-called political prisoners still imprisoned are the I. W. W. group, are rarely American citizens and have no good claim to Executive clemency. A number of convicted citizens have never been imprisoned, owing to appeals under bond. There are also many thousands of indictments under war legislation still pending. These do not come under Executive consideration.

Mr. Debs called upon the President and Attorney General Daugherty to thank them for the act of Executive clemency. He took pains to make it clear that there had been no change in his opinions, and declared that he would devote his time and efforts toward the freeing of all prisoners.

NEWBERRY SEATED AS SENATOR

By a vote of 46 to 41, the Senate on Jan. 12 adopted a resolution declaring Truman H. Newberry entitled to his seat as Senator from Michigan, but expressed disapproval of the large amounts spent to obtain his election. The affirmative vote was entirely Republican, while nine members of the majority (Borah, Capper, Jones of Washington, Kenyon, Ladd, La Follette, Norbeck, Norris and Sutherland) voted with thirty-two Democrats against the resolution. Mr. Newberry's view of the vote was thus expressed:

"My heart is filled with thankfulness that the three years and four months of persecution have ended in complete vindication and exoneration of myself and all concerned."

The resolution adopted by the Senate, concerning which Senator Kenyon of Iowa declared, "We have written our own infamy into this resolution," read as follows:

1. That the contest of Henry Ford against Truman H. Newberry be, and it is hereby dismissed.

2. That Truman H. Newberry is hereby declared to be a duly elected Senator from the State of Michigan for the term of six years, commencing on the fourth day of March, 1919,

and is entitled to hold his seat in the Senate of the United States.

3. That whether the amount expended in this (Michigan) primary was \$195,000, as was fully reported or openly acknowledged, or whether there was some few thousand dollars in excess, the amount expended was in either case too large, much larger than ought to have been expended. The expenditure of such excessive sums in behalf of a candidate, either with or without his knowledge and consent, being contrary to sound public policy, harmful to the honor and dignity of the Senate and dangerous to the perpetuity of a free government, such excessive expenditures are hereby severely condemned and disapproved.

PER CAPITA MONEY CIRCULATION

Per capita circulation of money in the United States declined \$6.09 during 1921, according to a statement issued Jan. 9 by the Treasury Department. On Jan. 1, 1922, the per capita circulation was \$53.03, based on a total of \$5,775,400,315 and an estimated population of 108,917,000, as compared with a per capita of \$59.12 on Jan. 1, 1921, based on a total of \$6,340,436,718 in circulation and an estimated population of 107,249,000. The reduction in the amount of money in circulation was accounted for mainly by the decrease of nearly \$1,000,000,000 in Federal Reserve notes, the total on Jan. 1, 1922, being \$2,443,789,739 in circulation, as compared with \$3,349,389,117 on Jan. 1, 1921.

During 1921 2,355 petitions in bankruptcy were filed in the Federal Court of the Southern District, being 852 more than in 1920 and 632 more than in any year since 1911. In the Eastern District, bankruptcies increased 60 per cent., compared with 1920. The 1921 record exceeded the number of bankruptcies in any year since the passage of the Federal Bankruptcy law in 1898.

DEATH OF SENATOR PENROSE

Senator Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Finance Committee, and for years one of the outstanding figures in the Republican Party, died Dec. 31 in his apartments at Washington, D. C. He was a member of an old and distinguished fam-

ily, born to affluence, well educated, and with a mind and training that would undoubtedly have made him eminent as a lawyer had he not chosen politics as a career. He had served in the Senate from Pennsylvania since 1897, at which time he succeeded the late Senator Donald Cameron. Since that time he had been by far the most powerful figure in Pennsylvania politics and extraordinarily influential in the national councils of his party.

On Jan. 9, Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania appointed Mr. George Wharton Pepper of Philadelphia as successor to Mr. Penrose. Like his predecessor, Mr. Pepper is a member of an old Philadelphia family. He will be 55 years old on March 16. He was graduated in 1887 from the University of Pennsylvania, of which he is now a trustee, and from the law department of that institution two years later. He is a lawyer of wide experience and recognized ability.

HENRY WATTERSON'S DEATH

Colonel Henry Watterson, one of the most forceful and picturesque figures in American journalism, died of heart disease Dec. 22 at Jacksonville, Fla., at the age of 81.

Mr. Watterson was almost the last of the old personal editors, those whose personalities were so dominant in their papers that the two were never dissociated in the thoughts of the readers. His was a trenchant and vivid pen, and the thoughts of "Marse Henry" as expressed in his paper, *The Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal*, went all over the country, and were widely quoted abroad. He was a redoubtable fighter for the causes in which he believed and a formidable foe to those that aroused his opposition. His virility and vigor, his spontaneity and buoyancy, endured to the day of his death. He fought with the energy of a crusader against sectionalism, greenbackism, protectionism and prohibition. His original and at times whimsical style made him tremendously effective, and no editorial writer has so enriched American journalism with memorable phrases and epigrams of enduring quality.

NEWS OF THE NATIONS

Birdseye view of the chief events and developments of the month in all countries, arranged alphabetically for convenience of ready reference—Survey of world political and social changes

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1922]

AFGHANISTAN

THE full text of the treaty between Great Britain and Afghanistan signed at Kabul on Nov. 22 was made public in London on Dec. 13. It contained points of importance not hitherto disclosed. Of these, Article 3, providing for the exchange of diplomatic representatives between London and Kabul, removed an Afghan grievance of many years' standing; the Afghan Government had long resented being compelled to negotiate as a vassal or protected State with the British Indian Government at Calcutta instead of with London direct as an independent sovereignty. A matter of Afghan prestige was also decided in the realignment of the British-Afghan frontier so as to include in Afghanistan a small place known as Torkhani, on a ridge some 2,240 feet high. * * * On Dec. 4 Sir Henry Dobbs, head of the British Mission to Afghanistan, recrossed the frontier after having been entertained at Kabul by the Amir Amnullah with the most friendly courtesy.

ALBANIA

After hardly a month's term in office, the Cabinet of Pandheli Evangheli resigned owing to differences of opinion with the Council of Four Regents. The latter availed itself of the recess of the Diet in order to assert its claim to a more positive and active leadership. The Evangheli Cabinet was succeeded by one formed by Hussan Prishtina and supported chiefly by the Catholic leader Louis Goura Kuqi, appointed Minister of Interior, and the prominent Bektashi Moslem chieftain, Hodja Kodri. This Cabinet, however, lasted for only a few days. The chief mover in the intrigues that led to the overthrow of both Ministries was Aqif Pasha, Bektashi Moslem member of the Council of Regents, over which his personality predominates. He is supported by Abdi Toptani, the Sunni Moslem Regent. The Orthodox Regent, Dr. Tourtuli, was in Paris during the crisis, while his Catholic colleague, Mgr. Bumci, was outvoted by the two Mohammedans. After the withdrawal of Hussan Prishtina a "business Ministry," without party color, was formed by M. Kosturi, a wealthy merchant. This Ministry is expected to remain in power until Parliament reconvenes at the end of January. * * * The Mirdites (Catholic Albanians of the North) have made representations to the League of Nations and to the Allies, asking for protection against the encroachment of the "Turkish" Government of Tirana. The Mirdites have formed their own

independent republic and have applied for recognition.

ARGENTINA

This year's wheat crop appears to be considerably larger than last year's, the most authoritative estimate being 207,415,067 bushels. * * * The Governor of the Province of San Juan, Señor Jones, was assassinated by a group of political enemies. Federal intervention has extended not only to San Juan, but also to the Province of Entre Rios. * * * The appointment of John Riddle of Connecticut, as Ambassador to Argentina has been generally well received throughout the country. * * * Norberto Pinero, a lawyer, former Minister of Finance and one-time Minister to Chile, was named candidate for the Presidential election by a new party called the Concentración Nacional. This party is a combination of the groups of Conservatives and Democrats arrayed against the governing Radical Party. * * * President Irigoyen declared to a representative of the Cologne Gazette that Argentinian neutrality during the war was neither for nor against any country, but purely in the national interest, and that though the Argentinian Senate and House of Representatives had both declared themselves in favor of joining the Allies, neither of them had gained popular support. The House of Representatives has enacted an insurance law by which insurance will be made compulsory for all citizens earning more than 6,000 nacionales a year. National insurance comprises as minimum benefits the age pension, pension for the disabled, insurance for illness and for maternity. The employer's and the employee's quota will be fixed according to the amount earned. * * * According to the most recent statistics, the population of the country has reached 8,698,516 inhabitants, the immigration for last year being 188,688 persons and the emigration 148,907.

AUSTRALIA

A reconstructed Australian Cabinet was announced in a dispatch from Melbourne, dated Dec. 27, as follows:

W. M. HUGHES—Premier and Minister for External Affairs.

GEORGE FOSTER PEARCE—Home and Territories.

E. D. MILLEN—Repatriation.

L. E. GROOM—Attorney General.

MASSEY GREENE—Navy and Defense.

A. S. ROGERS—Trade and Customs.

ALEXANDER POYNTON—Postmaster General.
S. M. BRUCE—Treasury.
R. W. FOSTER—Works and Railways.
J. EARLE—Vice President of Executive Council.

Premier Hughes has proposed a Constitutional Convention composed of delegates to be elected to amend the Federal Constitution, adopted in 1900 and since unchanged. It is proposed to give the Federal Parliament full powers over all trade and commerce, instead of that between the States only. As the convention would include eighteen members of the State Legislatures, eighteen from present members and seventy-five elected from Parliamentary constituencies, it is considered there will be enough defenders of State rights to prevent drastic Socialist proposals for centralizing government. * * * Australian labor unions on Jan. 10 voted in favor of merging into One Big Union.

AUSTRIA

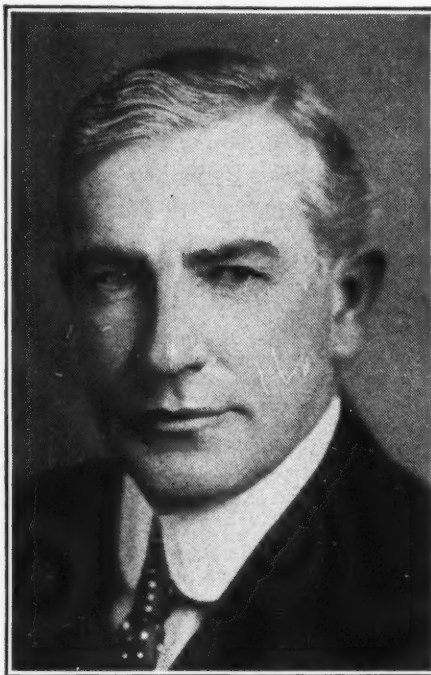
A bill passed by the National Council on Dec. 21 obliges owners of foreign currency, cheques or credits abroad to deposit with the Government such property in exchange for bonds bearing 5 per cent. interest. The purpose of the measure is to raise the exchange of the Austrian krone. Failure to comply is punished with imprisonment (maximum, ten years), and confiscation of the concealed property. Foreigners resident in Austria are not exempted. * * * Plans to pledge the famous Imperial collection of gobelins and other art treasures, valued at \$50,000,000, with an American syndicate, have been announced. The money thus obtained will be used for the purchase of foodstuffs. * * * Pre-war bonds of the former Austrian Government owned by Americans and held outside of the Succession States will be received for collection by the Department of State at Washington, it was announced. The United States Government, the announcement says, does not guarantee payment, but merely turns the securities over to the Reparations Commission, which will take proper action.

BELGIUM

The new Belgian Cabinet which, at the request of King Albert, on the resignation of Count de Wiart, following the November elections, was formed by M. Georges Theunis, and is constituted as follows:

M. GEORGES THEUNIS—Premier and Minister of Finance.
M. HENRI JASPER (Catholic)—Minister of Foreign Affairs.
M. MASSON (Liberal)—Minister of Justice.
M. VAN DE VIVERE (Catholic)—Economic Affairs.
M. DEVEZE (Liberal)—Defense.
Viscount BERRYER (Catholic)—Interior.
M. NEUJEAN (Liberal)—Railways.
Baron RUZETTE (Catholic)—Agriculture and Public Works.
M. MOYERSOEN (Catholic)—Industry and Labor.
Professor HUBERT (Liberal)—Sciences and Arts.
M. FRANCK (Liberal)—Colonies.

Thus M. Theunis selected five Catholics and



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HENRY P. FLETCHER
*New Minister to Belgium, succeeding
Brand Whitlock*

five Liberals for his Ministry, leaving the Socialists unrepresented. The complete returns of the elections showed a gain to the Catholic Party, a loss to the Socialists, while the Liberal Party remained about as it was before. The Chamber of Deputies is constituted as follows: Catholics 80, Socialists 68, Liberals 34, other parties 5. The Senate is as reported in the January CURRENT HISTORY: Catholics 73, Socialists 52, Liberals 28. Mme. Paul Spaak, Socialist Senator, is the first woman elected to a Belgian Parliament. M. Jasper was also Minister of Foreign Affairs in the old de Wiart Cabinet. * * * On Dec. 24 King Albert visited the American Embassy for a two-hour farewell call on Mr. Brand Whitlock, the retiring American Ambassador, expressing his nation's thanks for Mr. Whitlock's relief work during the German occupation. * * * President Harding nominated Under Secretary of State Henry P. Fletcher to succeed Mr. Whitlock as Ambassador to Belgium, but it was understood that Mr. Fletcher would remain in Washington until the close of the Armament Conference.

BRAZIL

All the important Republics of America, including the United States, have expressed willingness to take part in the Brazilian World's Fair to celebrate the centenary of Brazilian independence. It is stated that the American building will be a permanent structure, to be-

come the home of the Embassy after the Exposition is closed.

BULGARIA

It was officially announced that normal diplomatic relations have been resumed with the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The step was delayed since the termination of the war because of disagreements between the two Governments concerning the fulfillment of certain provisions of the Treaty of Neuilly. * * * The Princesses Eudoxia and Nadejda, sisters of King Boris of Bulgaria, have been granted permission by the Bulgarian Diet to return to Sofia, and they are entertained there by their brother. The deposed King Ferdinand is barred absolutely from the country. * * * The Diplomatic Corps at Sofia, including the American Minister, Charles S. Wilson, has made a collective representation to the Bulgarian Government by way of protest against the burdensome taxation imposed upon foreign corporations in violation of peace treaty pro-

visions. * * * The Bulgarian Government is negotiating with an American syndicate concerning the purchase of 1,000 freight cars from the United States.

CANADA

In the new party alignment due to the Liberal triumph in the December elections, Arthur Meighen, the defeated Prime Minister, has undertaken to lead an opposition group of Conservatives in the next House of Commons. The new Premier, William Lyon Mackenzie King, stated on Dec. 29 that national unity through having all parts of the Dominion represented in his Cabinet was the principal aim of his administration. On the same date he announced his Cabinet as follows:

W. L. MACKENZIE KING of Ontario—Premier.
WILLIAM S. FIELDING of Nova Scotia—Finance.

DANIEL D. MACKENZIE of Nova Scotia—Solicitor General and Minister without portfolio.

A. B. COPP of New Brunswick—Secretary of State.

JOHN E. SINCLAIR of P. E. I.—Minister without portfolio.

RAOUL DANDURAND of Quebec—Minister without portfolio.

HENRI S. BELAND of Quebec—Health and Soldiers' Re-establishment.

SIR LOMER GOUIN of Quebec—Justice.

JACQUES BUREAU of Quebec—Customs and Excise.

ERNEST LAPONTE of Quebec—Marine and Fisheries.

JAMES A. ROBB of Quebec—Trade and Commerce.

GEORGE P. GRAHAM of Ontario—Militia, Defense and Naval Service.

CHARLES MURPHY of Ontario—Postmaster General.

THOMAS A. LOW of Ontario—Minister without portfolio.

WILLIAM C. KENNEDY of Ontario—Labor.

WILLIAM R. MOTHERWELL of Saskatchewan—Agriculture.

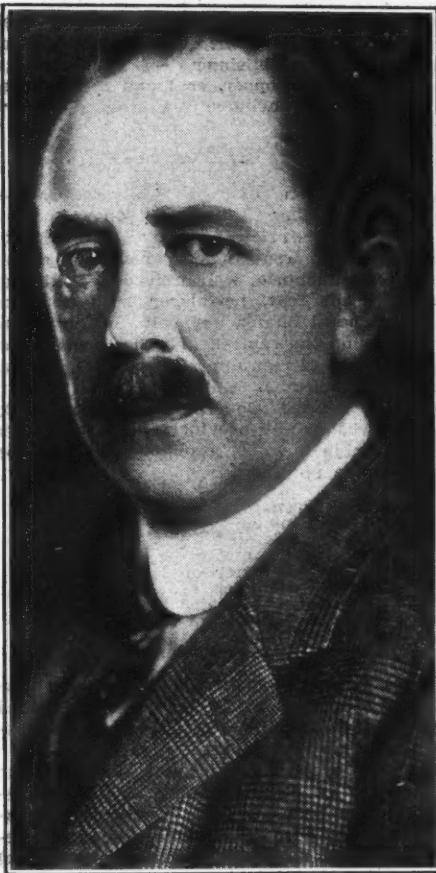
CHARLES STEWART of Alberta—Interior, Mines and Indian Affairs.

HEWITT BOSTOCK of British Columbia—Public Works.

According to a report issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada's commerce declined heavily in the twelve months ended with November, 1921. Exports totaled \$880,458,548, compared with \$1,289,536,450 the previous year, while imports were \$825,226,585 against \$1,345,592,300 last year. Customs duties fell to \$124,184,941 from \$207,412,639 in the same period. Imports from the United States were valued at \$574,927,941 and exports at \$359,016,167.

CAUCASUS REPUBLICS

Events are moving swiftly in the Caucasus. Under the treaty signed Oct. 13, at Kars, Armenia, between the four Bolshevized republics, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Daghestan, on the one hand, and the Turkish Nationalist Government of Angora, the latter power was given about half of Caucasian Armenia and large tracts of territory in Georgia; a small autonomous State was also set up on Armenian territory, to be known as Nakitchevan, under the protection of Azerbaijan. It now appears that the Russians broached to the Turks at Kars, and received support for, their intention to federalize in the Russian State all the so-



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COUNT LASZLO SZECHENYI
Newly appointed Hungarian Minister to the
United States

called Caucasus republics. This has now been effected, with the definite object of fortifying Soviet influence in the Near East, and ostensibly for these republics' own protection. This action was timed to synchronize with the economic crisis in the region, and with the activities of the notorious Enver Pasha, Mustapha Kemal's bitter enemy, on Caucasus territory. The political centre of the new Russian province is at Baku, the economic centre at Tiflis. The independence of these republics is now a thing of the past, and they have reverted to their pre-war status as a part of Russian rule. Foreign Affairs, Finance, Transport, Food, Army and Labor have all been placed under Pan-Russian administration. The change was signalized by a note sent by Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, to the Angora Government, the text of which was published on Dec. 30.

CENTRAL AMERICA

That Guatemala intends to adhere to the Central American Federation was shown by the election on Jan. 7 of Senators to represent the State in the Federal Senate, and the approval by the Assembly of the Deputies and Federal Councillor. * * * General José M. Orellana, one of the leaders of the revolution that deposed President Herrera (see CURRENT HISTORY for January, p. 626) took the oath of office as Provisional President and named the following Cabinet for Guatemala:

J. S. RODRIGUEZ CASTILLEJO—Foreign Relations.
SELITE SOLARE—Finance.
JORGE UBICO—War.
BERNARDO ALVARO—Interior.
MANUEL P. ARRIDA—Education.
DAVID PIZARAL—Agriculture.

As an expression of desire for peace in Central America, Secretary Hughes sent a note to Salvador and Honduras, hoping they would abide by their treaties with Guatemala. Señor Castillejo telegraphed to Washington that Francisco Sanchez Latour had been designated to take charge of the legation archives and that the new Guatemalan Administration did not recognize Dr. Julio Bianchi as Minister. Dr. Bianchi refused to turn over the legation to Señor Latour and said the same position had been taken by Guatemalan Ministers to France, Mexico and Nicaragua, also by a number of Consuls. * * * Elections for President of Guatemala have been set for May 21 to 27. * * * Amnesty was proclaimed for Herrera and the more important prisoners held in connection with the overthrow of his Government.

CHILE

The note addressed on Dec. 12 by the Chilean Government to the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs provoked a spirited though short-lived debate which carried the exchange of views almost to a tentative agreement for a meeting of plenipotentiaries at Washington. It finally failed, however, due to Peru's insistence that the negotiations should be preliminary to submitting to arbitration all the provisions of the Ancon Treaty, while Chile maintained that direct negotiations should be abandoned only on failure of

the plenipotentiaries to reach an agreement on the basis of the protocol governing the plebiscite by which the attribution of Tacna and Arica shall be decided. Another reason for the temporary suspension of negotiations has been the interference of the Bolivian Government, which claimed a voice in the negotiations with a view to obtaining a port on the Pacific. The Chilean Government replied that this was impossible, owing to the fact that it was then dealing with a provision of the Ancon Treaty with Peru, in which Bolivia has no part. Moreover, it was pointed out that matters between Chile and Bolivia were definitely settled by the treaty of 1904. The reply, however, leaves the door open for direct arrangements with Bolivia. Chile's contention, on the other hand, was upheld at the recent meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva, at which Bolivia's move for a revision of her treaty of 1904 with Chile was dismissed by the conference. * * * President Alessandri has sent a message to Congress recommending the passage of the bill limiting the production of wine, beer and liquors to one-fifth of the present output. The Presidential project proposes a tax on the manufacture of alcoholic beverages, the proceeds of which shall be destined to compensate the growers who prefer to destroy their vines and undertake some other agricultural enterprise. The establishment of bone-dry districts around the copper, coal and nitrate mining camps is also included in the bill.

CHINA

The resignation of the Chinese Cabinet headed by Ching Yun-peng, on Dec. 18, it is now known, was virtually forced by General Chang Tso-Lin, the powerful super-Tuchun of Manchuria, who arrived in Peking on Dec. 14. This feat, performed with apparent ease by General Chang, supported by his troops in and around the capital, and the formation of a new Cabinet of men approved by him, demonstrated "strong-man" dictatorship in a land where the central Government is completely overshadowed by the provincial military rulers. The new Cabinet, which assumed office on Dec. 25, was made up thus:

LIANG SHI-YI—Premier.
W. W. YEN—Minister of Foreign Affairs.
CHANG HU—Vice Minister of Finance.
PAO KWOT-CHING—Minister of War.
LI TING-HSING—Minister of the Navy.
YEH KUN-CHO—Minister of Communication.
WANG CHUNG-HUI—Minister of Justice.
CHI YAO-SHAN—Minister of Commerce.
KAO LING-WEI—Minister of the Interior.
HUANG YEN-PEI—Minister of Education.

General Chang's motives were thus explained by himself in an interview published in Peking toward the end of December: "Government by an Occidental Constitution was a failure. We propose to assemble Parliament to frame a new Constitution suited to the temperament of the people. * * * Unscrupulous officials having been eliminated, financial reforms are easy, since the Government's normal income is 300,000,000 taels, and normal expenditure totals only 100,000,000 taels." This statement was challenged by the foreign press of Peking, which made charges against several of

the new officials. The reaction of the Canton, South China, Government to the new Cabinet was hostile. It issued, and subsequently renewed, an order for the arrest of Premier Liang as a traitor, and charged that he and his Cabinet were planning to capitalize the "failure" of the Chinese delegation at the Arms Conference to strengthen the grip of the Northern Government upon the country.

Another enemy against Liang appeared in Wu Pei-fu, Inspector General of the Southern provinces of Hunan and Hupeh, who charged the new Cabinet with being pro-Japanese. On Jan. 15 it was reported from Peking that Wu Pei-fu had sent a triple ultimatum to Liang demanding his and his Cabinet's resignation within three days, Wu threatening to publish further charges if this demand were not complied with in five days, and to march on Peking if Liang took no action within seven days. Liang defied all three ultimatums. President Hsu's appeals to General Wu had no effect, and all evidences pointed to war between Wu Pei-fu and Liang's sponsor, General Chang Tso-lin. Not only the Chinese delegation at Washington, but the United States Government itself was apprehensive of the threatened civil war, and the House of Representatives on Jan. 16 passed the Mapes resolution (already passed in substance by the Senate on Nov. 14, 1921) to prevent the shipment of arms and munitions from the United States. It was expected that the Senate would act on it promptly, in view of the crisis. * * * The China Trade bill was passed by the Senate on Dec. 16; under its terms American firms in China were to be incorporated under Federal charter, but tax exemption privileges were stricken out.

COLOMBIA

Just as the House of Representatives was about to adjourn on Dec. 20, the President of the Republic, Señor Holguin extended the period of extraordinary sessions four days, for the purpose "of putting an end to the grave crisis afflicting the National Treasury, and of furthering the serene and careful study of international questions having an influence upon the future of the Republic." On Dec. 24, the House approved the treaty with the United States on the Panama settlement, by which Colombia is to receive \$25,000,000 payable in five instalments, as a compensation for territorial losses she sustained through the setting up of the Republic of Panama. Thus is closed a series of incidents and unsuccessful negotiations between the Governments of the United States and Colombia lasting since 1903, when Panama separated itself from the latter country.

CUBA

Thirty thousand Cubans took part in a public demonstration on Dec. 18 against the Fordney Tariff bill, parading through Havana, carrying Cuban flags and banners demanding a "square deal." Similar demonstrations were held throughout the island. A statement was presented to President Zayas and Major Gen. E. H. Crowder, by sugar-mill owners and planters, pre-

dicting disaster to the trade of the island if ruinous tariff rates were enforced. On Dec. 19, Horatio S. Rubens, Chairman of the American Committee on Cuban Emergency, told the Senate Finance Committee that the proposed tariff would ruin Cuba and possibly again force American intervention, adding: "There is no use of protecting Cuba physically unless you protect her economically." On Jan. 7 a legal opinion was sent by Mr. Rubens to the Senate Committee, holding that the proposed Fordney rate is a violation of part of the reciprocity treaty with Cuba, under which preferential rates are granted over commodities from other countries.

* * * The Cuban Sugar Commission, created to control the export of the 1920-21 crop, was dissolved on Dec. 31 by decree of President Zayas after it had disposed of half the crop and the free export of sugar was resumed.

* * * At a conference between President Zayas and Congressional leaders it was decided to reduce the budget to a point that will render it unnecessary to continue negotiations in the United States for a loan. Congress had approved a budget of \$64,000,000, but it was stated an effort would be made to cut this to less than \$40,000,000.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A new era of friendship and good-will between the Republics of Czechoslovakia and Austria was inaugurated with the conclusion of negotiations at Lana Castle, in Tyrol, between the Presidents Masaryk and Hainisch, the former staying as the latter's guest. The outcome of the negotiations is virtually a new Entente between Austria and Czechoslovakia. Contentious questions will in the future be referred to the League of Nations. The two countries have agreed to assist each other in the defense of this policy of good-will and co-operation. * * * The agreement guarantees mutual support in maintaining the peace treaties of St. Germain and Trianon. Czechoslovakia undertakes to communicate to Austria her treaties previously concluded with Jugoslavia, Rumania and Poland. Austria will do likewise. The agreement is valid for five years.

DENMARK

With respect to the recent negotiations for a commercial treaty between Denmark and Soviet Russia, the Rosta (Bolshevist News Agency) published an interview with Kerzentsev, the Soviet delegate, who said he warned Foreign Minister Scavenius of Denmark that Danish unemployment would increase if Denmark did not come to an agreement satisfactory to Soviet Russia, who could afford to bide her time. Afterward Danish Socialists made use of this threat in an attack on M. Scavenius at a private meeting of Rigsdag members. At the meeting of the Folkething (Lower House), held on Dec. 16, the former Socialist Minister, Stauning, introduced a resolution violently attacking Foreign Minister Scavenius for his attitude toward the Soviet delegation and interpellated him on the interruption of the negotiations. M. Scavenius replied that Kerzentsev would have

nothing to do with any Danish-Russian "commercial" treaty, and was trying to secure a political treaty, with a de jure recognition of the Soviet Government. Thereupon the Folkething rejected M. Stauning's resolution by a vote of 81 to 47. * * * A letter was recently received in Copenhagen from Knud Rasmussen's fifth Thule Expedition to Arctic North America. Three months out from Copenhagen the expedition reached Lyon Inlet, Sept. 18, the latter part of the journey being made difficult by block ice and motor trouble. Discovering an uncharted island at the mouth of Lyon Inlet, they took it for Winter quarters and named it Danish Island. There the letter was dated Sept. 23. It reports good hunting, sealing, and salmon fishing sufficient for food for men and team-dogs, and a highly favorable situation for scientific work. As ruins found suggest former Eskimo habitation, sledge-quests were to be made for tribes, Eskimo migrations being one of the objects of study.

EGYPT

After continuing negotiations for an Egyptian settlement the greater part of last Autumn (CURRENT HISTORY, October, 1921, Page 153), Adly Pasha's delegation gave up the task on Nov. 19 and left the next day for Egypt. Britain, it was conceded, would find it easy to grant independence to the Egyptians, a single nation with one race and practically one religion, were it not that the right of Britain to guard her communications through the Suez Canal, keeping garrisons in Cairo and Alexandria, was insisted upon by the Foreign Office and refused by the Egyptians. Adly's contention was that British troops should be confined to the canal zone, that Egypt should control her own foreign relations and Britain abandon her claim to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, now under joint control. Adly Pasha arrived at Alexandria on Dec. 5, reaching Cairo the next day. He resigned the Premiership on Dec. 8. The Sultan asked Sarwat Pasha to form a Ministry, but he declined unless certain conditions were accepted by the British Government. * * * Zaglul Pasha, on the day of Adly's arrival in Cairo, issued a manifesto stating that Britain had always toyed with Egypt, after the occupation promising evacuation and after the protectorate independence, but had thrown aside the mask and demanded that Egypt form part of the British Empire. He appealed to his followers to use their energies for the liberation of the country. * * * Rioting began in several places during the week before Christmas and on Dec. 24 extended to Gizeh, where students raided the Government Survey offices, but were ejected by British troops, leaving 5 killed and 20 wounded. There were minor disturbances at Tanta and Alexandria, spreading on Christmas Day as far south as Beni-Suef, sixty-two miles up the Nile from Cairo. British armed boats moved up the sacred river and airplanes circled over the tombs of the Pharaohs. Twelve persons were killed in disturbances in Cairo, among them "Professor Jean Orth," said to be the Austrian Archduke who disappeared years ago and who had been living as a teacher in the capital. He

was stabbed in the back on his way home. All the other persons killed were natives. * * * The disturbances were largely due to the forcible removal of Zaglul Pasha from Cairo to Suez early in the morning of Dec. 23 on his refusal to obey an order by General Allenby to refrain from political activity. With him were arrested five of his followers, and on Dec. 29 the six sailed from Suez for Ceylon, Arabi Pasha's old place of exile. On Jan. 10, twenty-seven participants in the riots were sentenced to several months' imprisonment and a number of others were ordered flogged.

ENGLAND

From official returns of the Ministry of Labor it was gathered that unemployment in Great Britain had decreased 350,000 between June 24 and Nov. 25, 1921. The reports showed 1,832,400 remained on the "live" registers. * * * The annual report of the Minister of Pensions issued on Dec. 20 showed the number of awards of all kinds at the end of the period was 1,760,000, 1,200,000 being for disabled officers and men and 560,000 in respect of widows and dependents. The total number of beneficiaries of all kinds was 3,365,000, an increase of about 20,500 on the figure of March 31, 1920. * * * An interim report of the Economy Committee, presided over by Sir Eric Geddes, was presented to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It planned to save £195,000,000 by further cuts in the army and navy services, since there was an absolute need to effect a reduction approaching £200,000,000 in the national expenditure. * * * The Official Gazette of Dec. 13 contained the announcement of the revocation of Sir Edgar Speyer's British naturalization and the ordering of his name stricken from the list of his Majesty's Privy Council, on counts of disloyalty during the war. Sir Edgar Speyer declared the charges trivial and readily susceptible of explanation, in which contention he was supported by his English partners. * * * Over 1,000 men blinded in the war attended a memorial service on Dec. 13 for Sir Arthur Pearson, who, when his own sight failed, had devoted himself to alleviating the lot of others similarly affected.

FINLAND

The tension between Finland and Soviet Russia caused by the Karelian insurrection which the Russians accused the Finnish Government of fostering continued high, and wireless dispatches from Moscow declared that Finland was preparing for war. It was partly in answer to this threat that Leon Trotzky, at the ninth Soviet Congress, declared that the Red Army would be prepared for all attacks, whether they came from Finland or from any other neighboring nation. Tchitcherin, in a new note to the Finnish Government, gave warning that all Karelian recruiting bureaus must be expelled from Finnish territory; the Soviet Foreign Minister even furnished Finland with the addresses of such bureaus. In Karelia, meanwhile, the Russians had gathered a force of 150,000 men, part of whom protected the roads to Petrograd. This force was under the com-

mand of Colonel Sergius Kamenev, Commander in Chief of the Bolshevik armies. From Bolshevik sources it was stated that this force would not cross into Finland unless attacked by the Finns themselves. Fighting between the Russians and Karelians was still going on early in January, and the insurgents sustained heavy losses. A considerable number of Karelian fugitives had crossed the frontier. A decisive victory was won by the Soviet forces against Finnish White raiding bands around Jan. 7. It was believed in Moscow that the defeat and dispersal of these Finnish pro-Karelian marauders would do much to decrease the danger of war between Russia and Finland, as the attacks of these bands had been one of the chief causes of friction. True to her word, Finland brought the whole controversy up before the Council of the League of Nations, which accepted the task of investigation of the merits of the controversy.

* * * The Council of the League of Nations on Jan. 11 formally undertook to guarantee the neutralization of the Aland Islands and to shoulder the responsibility of enforcing the ten-power treaty under which the League recently settled the dispute over these islands. Finland is empowered to act in defense of the islands if their neutrality is threatened. This is the first agreement involving the guarantee of neutrality of territory by the member States of the League.

* * * Axel Leonard Astrom, the new Minister from Finland to the United States, was received by President Harding on Jan. 5.

FRANCE

Aristide Briand resigned his office as Premier on Jan. 12, and Raymond Poincaré, former President of France, became the new Premier on Jan. 13. No recent event has caused more excitement in French political circles than the resignation of M. Briand, occurring as it did in the midst of uncompleted negotiations with Mr. Lloyd George at Cannes. The Cannes conference had opened on Jan. 6 and continued nearly six days. Briand had obtained a Franco-British treaty guaranteeing protection to France against any sudden German attack, but in exchange had made certain concessions on reparations. The news of this proposed arrangement aroused a storm of political hostility at home. Important organs of the French press raged against Briand, and even President Millerand was affected. The Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs on Jan. 11 sent to Briand at Cannes a warning telegram, embodying a resolution adopted unanimously by twenty-five Senators, declaring that no reductions in the May 5 reparations program should be made, and that the Franco-British compact "should, above all, confirm the guarantees and methods of execution and the securities France now holds under existing peace treaties, or will hold under future accords." Strong objection was also made to French participation in the proposed Genoa Conference, to which both Germany and Soviet Russia were to be invited, unless all French rights were previously guaranteed. The storm in Parliament and press was so violent that President Millerand sent a telegram to Premier Briand, soon fol-

lowed by another, urging him to return to Paris at once. With a modified draft of the Franco-British compact in his pocket, M. Briand hastened home, and after a stormy Cabinet meeting on the morning of Jan. 13 he appeared before the Chamber to defend himself. Pale and weary after his hurried night journey, the Premier declared it was his duty to dissipate certain fears and to tell the truth regarding the Cannes negotiations. Point by point he answered his enemies. In the bluntest words he declared that for a year he had done his best to put his country in a sound position, and that the responsibilities of the problems raised must be faced. He could not, however, continue without sufficient support; this he did not have, and others must now carry on the work he had begun. He then gathered up his papers and left the Chamber, which was still resounding with applause. Many Deputies crowded around him as he left, congratulating him, shaking his hand. The Premiership of Aristide Briand was over. His formal resignation was forthwith offered to President Millerand—and at once accepted. The next day the President asked Raymond Poincaré to form a new Cabinet. Briand's arch enemy accepted the post, and with considerable difficulty formed on Jan. 15 a Cabinet made up wholly of members of the Right. Its personnel was as follows:

RAYMOND POINCARÉ—President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

LOUIS BARTHOU—Vice Premier and Minister of Justice for France and Alsace-Lorraine.

ANDRÉ MAGINOT—Minister of War and Pensions.

M. RAIBERTI—Minister of Marine.

COUNT CHARLES DE LASTEYRIE—Minister of Finance.

MAURICE MAUNOURY—Minister of the Interior.

LEON BERAUD—Minister of Education.

YVES LE TROCQUER—Minister of Public Works.

HENRY CHERON—Minister of Agriculture.

ALBERT SARRAUT—Minister of the Colonies.

M. REIBEL—Minister of the Liberated Regions.

M. PEYRONNET—Minister of Labor.

LUCIEN DIOR—Minister of Commerce.

PAUL STRAUSS—Minister of Health.

GERMANY.

The total estimated deficit for the year, including railroad and post subsidies, was 46,800,000 marks.* * * The industries are active and the number of unemployed at the close of the year was estimated around 1 per cent. All the factories were in operation. * * * Herr Stinnes obtained the consent of the Government to denationalize the railroads. His plan assigns to the Government 51 per cent. of the new railroad stock, 25 per cent. to the capitalists and apportions 24 per cent. to the railroad employees. * * * Between 250,000 and 300,000 Russian immigrants now live in Germany. The colony consists mainly of ex-officers, lawyers and merchants. * * * The Krupp Works has increased its capital 250,000,000 marks, changing from war production to peace production. The gross profits during the year were 250,000,000 marks, the net 98,000,000. The new stock is to be profit sharing with the employees. * * * The Allied Disarmament Commission reconsidered its order to destroy the Deutsche Werke, a group of plants used during

the war for manufacturing German armaments, and will instead convert them into workshops for the manufacture of industrial machinery, which will call for the employment of 20,000 workers. * * * The German Consulate at New York was reopened in January at the old address, 11 Broadway. The office was taken in charge by Dr. Erich Kraske, Acting Consul General in the absence of Dr. Karl Lange. * * * The trial of the Kapp supporters ended in Berlin Dec. 21. Herr Jagow was sentenced to five years' detention in a fortress. The other defendants, Baron von Waginheim and Mr. Schelle were discharged. Jagow once was famous as Berlin's Police Chief. * * * The German monarchists circulated a petition embodying birthday greetings to Emperor William, expressing the hope for his restoration to power.

GREECE

The new year began auspiciously for Greece with the announcement made on Jan. 1 by the Ministry of Finance that the British Government had withdrawn its objections to granting a credit of £15,000,000 to Greece, the credit to be supplied by private banking interests. * * * The congress of the Metropolitans and Bishops belonging to the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, but whose dioceses are in the provinces liberated by the Greek Army, met in Saloniki on Jan. 2 and decided to consider the election of the Most Rev. Meletios Metaxakis as null and void. It appointed a committee to proceed to Constantinople after the holidays in order to find a settlement of the difficulty arising from his elevation to the Patriarchate. The Ecclesiastical Court of the Holy Synod of Athens found him guilty of an attempt to create a schism in the Greek Church on Jan. 12, and sentenced him to lifelong seclusion in a monastery, with reduction to the rank of a mere monk. Metaxakis was not present when he was sentenced, and his extradition was asked by Greece from the Allies. * * * On Jan. 4 King Constantine received a delegation representing the Popular Clubs of Athens, who congratulated him upon the first anniversary of the plebiscite that brought him back to Greece. The King, in an address to them, expressed his firm belief that Greece, with the help of her great allies, will succeed in satisfactorily solving all her problems. * * * On the same day the newly-appointed British Minister to Athens, Mr. Lindley, who bears the title "His Majesty's Representative," visited the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece and assumed his duties. * * * The Greek Government decided (Jan. 6) to build a great port at the Aegean town Dede-Agatch, which is to be renamed Alexandroupolis. * * * M. Nicholas Demetracopoulos, one of the most prominent jurists of Greece and ex-Minister of Justice under M. Venizelos, died in Vienna on Jan. 6. M. Demetracopoulos was the leader of the Progressive Party. * * * M. Caffrey Jefferson, until recently Counselor of the American Embassy in Madrid, was sent to Athens on Jan. 10 to take charge of the American Legation there.

HAITI

The Senate Committee investigating American naval administration in Haiti and Santo Domingo returned on Dec. 21, and the Chairman, Medill McCormick, delivered a preliminary report to President Harding advising that United States marines should not be withdrawn from the island at present. It exonerates the marines of charges of atrocities, urges a definite policy, while making it clear that annexation is not intended, and advocates the centralization of American control and the extension of road building and educational and sanitary work. The report contained no analysis of the charges of brutality by marines, made by Haitians, such as cutting off ears of prisoners and pouring salt into their wounds. Appointment of a high Commissioner, to whom both civil and military authorities should report, continuance of the treaty forced upon Haiti, and maintenance of the American civil staff were recommended. Senator Pomerene, Democrat, of Ohio, was quoted as saying reports of atrocities were largely exaggerated. One case was well established, that of Captain Merkel, who ordered killing of men without trial in 1918, but when arrested by order of the Military Governor he committed suicide. * * * The Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society in New York, on learning of the foregoing report, issued a statement saying that the committee had done irrevocable damage to the good name of the United States, especially in Latin America, as it made a part of American policy the overthrow of weak nations, imposed a treaty and upheld a dummy President by American bayonets. It urged the restoration of Haitian independence at once.

HOLLAND

The Government bill to increase the size of the Dutch Navy is opposed by all parties, on the grounds that it is premature in view of the Washington conference's efforts to limit armaments, that it will stimulate the militarist movement, that even joint action with an ally in such a policy offers too great risks, that the plan is at variance with the economy recommended in the last speech from the throne, and that Holland cannot afford the estimated expenses of the fleet contemplated in the plan. It would cost Holland for twelve years 36,000,000 guilders (normally \$14,000,000) and India 32,000,000 guilders (normally \$20,800,000) annually for the expenses of the fleet.

HUNGARY

The discussion in the National Assembly of the responsibility for the attempted coup d'état of the ex-King Charles revealed sensational details. Deputy Somogyi read the depositions of the arrested Legitimist leaders, ex-Foreign Minister Gratz and Mr. Borovicsenyi the Hungarian Government's Envoy to Charles's Court at Hertenstein, Switzerland. It appeared from these documents that Premier Bethlen had encouraged Charles's plans, and that Regent Horthy himself conducted a correspondence with

the ex-Monarch. Another storm broke forth when the ex-Premier, Friedrich, in an impassioned speech, hurled charges of responsibility for the White Terror at the Regent's head. He disclosed a plot, engineered by Regent, then Admiral, Horthy in August, 1919, to do away with the leader of the Farmer's Party, Stephen Szabo of Nagyatad. The latter, he said, was kidnapped at Kaposvar and taken to Siofok, the Admiral's headquarters. It was planned to wrap him in cotton and burn him in a railroad engine's boiler, so as to make him disappear without a trace. Friedrich said that he had learned of the plot in time. He was Premier then, and rushed without a moment's delay to Siofok and effected Szabo's release. Szabo, who listened to the narrative, confirmed it with a nod, but refused to make a statement. * * * Dr. George Nagy and Emery Veer, leaders of the Republican Party, which has no representation in Parliament, were acquitted by a jury of a charge of seditious utterances, made in connection with a celebration at Louis Kossuth's grave. The acquittal is regarded as a sign of a reversal of public sentiment toward more liberal policies. * * * Oedenburg, principal city of the Burgenland, over which discussion had raged with Austria since August, 1921, was handed back to the Hungarian authorities on New Year's Day by the interallied commission in charge of the plebiscite there. The plebiscite had decided in favor of Hungarian sovereignty. * * * Count Laszlo Széchenyi, husband of the former Miss Gladys Vanderbilt of New York City, has been appointed Hungarian Minister to the United States following the exchange of ratifications of the Peace Treaty between the two Governments.

INDIA

The tour of the Prince of Wales through India continued to produce some demonstrations of popular protest from the Gandhi Nationalists. The month's events will be found sketched in detail on page 752, following the article on "Gandhi's Weaponless Revolt in India."

IRELAND

The story of the ratification of the treaty that created the Irish Free State is told in detail on pages 851-855. Ratification was accepted on Jan. 7 by a vote of 64 to 57 in the Dail Eireann. On the 9th de Valera resigned the Presidency of the Irish Republic. A motion for his re-election was defeated by 60 to 58 votes. This action automatically terminated the de Valera Government. After a night without an Irish Government, on the 10th Arthur Griffith was unanimously elected President of the Dail Eireann in a House vacated by de Valera and his supporters. Mr. Griffith then presented the names of his Cabinet, and after formal approval of this Cabinet the Dail Eireann adjourned until Jan. 14. * * * In Northern Ireland the setting up of an Irish Free State fixed the attention of Ulster politicians on the task of saving the whole of the counties of Fermanagh and Tyrone from the surrender of one inch to Southern Irish dominion. J. M. Andrews, Northern Min-

ister of Labor, stated there would be a fight to a finish by the Northern Parliament over this question. In a more pacific vein the Ulster Premier, Sir James Craig, at New Year's expressed a hope for good feeling between North and South. Meantime factional disorder continued to increase in Belfast and adjacent territory, with many casualties. Official figures made public in Belfast on Dec. 29 showed that 110, including eleven policemen, were killed and 540 wounded by bombs and bullets in Belfast disorders in 1921.

ITALY.

The Parliamentary situation underwent a considerable change at the beginning of December, through the formation of a bloc of the Constitutional parties of the Left, comprising at least 140 Deputies. The Rome correspondent of the Temps reported that Signori Boselli, Orlando, Nitti and Giolitti—all former Premiers—had joined this new grouping, and that everything indicated that the three chief parties of the Right—the Fascisti, the Nationalists and the Liberals—would give their adherence. The formation of this group implied a diminution of the influence of the Popular or Catholic Party in the future. * * * A great sensation was caused in Rome and other cities of Italy by the suspension of payments by the Banca di Sconto (Bank of Discount) on Dec. 29. It was well known that this bank, one of the largest in Italy, had been shaken by heavy losses, and that it had been saved from closing several months before only by the aid of other banks. The Government took steps at once to protect the bank's creditors, granting meantime a limited moratorium. Government aid to the industries which had been dependent on the bank was being considered. The bank's liabilities totaled 4,000,000,000 lire. A dramatic sequel came on Jan. 4 when it was announced in Rome that the liquidating court had decreed the sequestration of the private fortunes of the Directors of whom Senator Marconi is one. * * *

The long-delayed commercial agreement between Italy and Soviet Russia was signed on Dec. 26 by Marquis della Torretta, the Foreign Minister, and M. Vorovsky, the Soviet representative in Rome. The conclusion of the compact had been previously hindered by the Russian desire to include political clauses. The terms of the agreement were briefly these: reciprocal clauses regarding import and export, the use of ports by shipping, abstention from propaganda, removal of all trade barriers except the ban on import of alcoholic liquors from Russia, repatriation of Italian nationals from Russia, postal and telegraph communications and Italian trading in Russia not to be hampered by the Soviet, Italian goods in Russia not to be requisitioned, funds of former Russian property in Italy not to be demanded, all forms of blockade and boycott to be avoided. A similar agreement was signed to cover the Ukraine. M. Vorovsky departed at once for Russia to secure the ratification of this agreement. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate had previously (Dec. 17) given its anticipatory consent to the resumption of trade relations with

Soviet Russia, on condition that it be based on the free expression of the will of the Russian people, that the rights, past, present and future, of all Italians in Russia be effectively guaranteed, and that the bonds with the Entente Powers be not thereby weakened. * * * Another agreement signed with M. Vorovsky pledged the Italian Red Cross to establish eighteen food and medical bureaus in the famine area of South Russia. An Italian famine mission is to leave for Russia in February. The Government has contributed 6,000,000 lire for this work.

JAPAN

Reactions to the decisions of the Washington conference have not been lacking in Japan. These decisions were denounced at a mass meeting of the Anti-American Young Men's League in Tokio on Dec. 18. The police suppressed a contemplated demonstration before the American Consulate. Various papers, notably the *Asahi*, the *Yorozu Choho* and the *Kokumin Shimbun*, condemned especially the naval ratio agreement, which they interpreted as detrimental to Japan. The leaders of the *Kenseikai*, or Opposition Party, at a meeting of Parliamentarians held on Dec. 20, formulated questions implying that the acceptance by the Government of the invitation to the Washington conference was unjustified by the circumstances and that the conclusion of the four-party treaty would be a wedge for interference by the United States and other powers in Far Eastern affairs. One of the Ministers contested this view and declared the criticism unwarranted. Premier Takahashi, on the other hand, in an address delivered the following day to the *Seiyukai*, or Government Party, stressed the "paramount importance of the understandings nearly concluded at Washington." On Dec. 23 he declared that "the Quadruple Alliance, which for Japan replaces the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, is much wider in bearing and removes all chances of war." The conference, he added, had "opened a new epoch in the Pacific and in the world." The new entente, he said, would lighten the Japanese people's burdens and strengthen the position of Japan in the Far East. * * * The Cabinet met on Dec. 24 to consider the Shantung and Siberian questions. In both cases a deadlock had been established, in the one instance with the Chinese delegates at Washington (see the Arms Conference), in the other with the Chita delegates at Dairen. It was semi-officially understood in Tokio that Japan was determined to maintain her position regarding property rights in Siberia, including the coal properties in Northern Saghalin. The Chita delegates at Dairen (Dalny) from the latest reports (see Siberia) had refused the Japanese demands. * * * A Korean appeal for independence to the Washington conference was made public in Washington on Jan. 1. Signers of a similar appeal from Korean students in Tokio were arrested. * * * Marquis Shigenobu Okuma, Japan's "grand old man" and twice Premier, died in Tokio on Jan. 6. The death

of this great progressive and patriotic statesman was universally deplored.

JUGOSLAVIA

The threatened Cabinet crisis was averted when President Ribar of the Chamber succeeded in mediating between the Radicals and Democrats, whose split threatened the coalition with ruin. The Democrats retain the Ministry of the Interior, which was the bone of contention between the two parties, but M. Pribitchevitch, the Minister of Education, is forced out. The Radicals obtain a new post of Under Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior and the Democrats a similar post in the Department of Agrarian Reform. M. Pashitch remains Premier. * * * Disorders between Croats and Italians at Sebenico, Dalmatia, culminated in an attack by an armed Croat mob, aided by police, upon sailors from an Italian destroyer at anchor in the port. Friction also occurred at Spalato. * * * Prince George, former Crown Prince of Serbia, who renounced his rights to succession in 1909 and of whom nothing was heard for some time, has been discovered as a student of law in the University of Lausanne, Switzerland. * * * The engagement has been announced of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and Princess Marie, eldest daughter of the King and Queen of Rumania.

LATVIA

M. Meierovics, Premier and Foreign Minister of Latvia, in an interview given in Riga in the middle of December, stated that the general situation of his country, both internally and externally, was favorable. Economic questions with Soviet Russia were being resolved. Moscow was doing all it could to fulfill the terms of the Russo-Lettish treaty, considering the lack of administrative organization and the inertia of the Russian character. The Soviet had restored some of the locomotives, cars and boats removed by the Russian army. It had sent back more than 200,000 Lettish refugees. The Lettish Government was effectively helping the feeding of Russia's starving by facilitating railroad transit across its territory. * * * Latvia's relations with her other Baltic neighbors were excellent. The military alliance with Estonia was in force. A political agreement had been made with Finland. A full understanding with Lithuania and Poland was dependent on a solution of the Vilna controversy.

LITHUANIA

The Vilna controversy between Lithuania and Poland, which was expected by both parties to be settled by the plebiscite elections held on Jan. 8, is again threatening trouble. The official result of the elections has not yet been published, but unofficially it is understood that a large majority of votes were cast in favor of annexation to Poland. The dispute was brought before the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva for the tenth time on Jan. 12, at the Council's request. At this session both the Polish and Lithuanian delegates declined for-

mally to accept the second solution proposed by M. Paul Hymans, the Council's President. [This solution proposed to make Vilna a canton in a Lithuanian federation under a joint Polish-Lithuanian council.] The Lithuanians refused furthermore in advance to be bound by the outcome of the Vilna elections. M. Askenazy, the Polish spokesman, admitted that the Council's efforts had prevented armed conflict between his country and Lithuania, and declared that Poland was ready to settle the dispute in a spirit of fairness. Both delegations declared that all safeguards existed in their respective countries for the protection of minorities. At the session of Dec. 13 the Council again acknowledged its inability to settle the dispute and urged the parties in dispute to seek their own settlement. M. Hymans informed them that the League could not accept the Vilna plebiscite, inasmuch as it had been held without the Council's sanction. A resolution was presented terminating the League's efforts for conciliation and notifying the disputants that it proposed to withdraw its military mission within one month. The Lithuanian representative laid the initial blame on the failure of the Versailles Treaty to establish boundaries. He feared that the withdrawal of the League mission would lead to a revival of the frontier troubles which would be fatal to peace. Lithuania, he said, was ready to submit the whole controversy to the League's newly-established Court of International Justice. Both parties agreed to strive for a peaceful settlement. * * * The plebiscite held on Jan. 8 covered not only Vilna, but the two contiguous districts of Lida and Braslaw, both which were already a part of the Polish State. The total vote approximated 900,000. To remove all appearance of coercion General Zell-gowski, the Polish irregular General who had occupied and held Vilna since October, 1920, was induced to resign at the end of November, 1921, and he was replaced by a prominent local citizen, M. Alexander Meysztowicz.

MEXICO

President Obregon in a reception on New Year's Eve declared his policy would be unchanged during the coming twelve months, but some prohibitionists see hope for their cause in his interest to end the manufacture of pulque and mescal by forbidding future planting of the maguey, or century plant, from the juice of which these are made. * * * During recesses of the Mexican Congress legislative affairs are placed in charge of a permanent commission, which has considerable power and is elected by the Chamber of Deputies just before adjourning. On the last occasion, Dec. 30, the Social Democratic bloc triumphed over the Liberal Constitutionalist Party, of which President Obregon is the head, receiving 122 votes to 118 cast by the administration party. Crowds in front of the building took a lively part in the discussions, which lasted two days, and there were scenes of wild disorder, scores of shots being exchanged and several persons wounded. * * * General Francisco Reyna, who figured prominently in revolutions in Mexico during the last

ten years, was executed by a firing squad in Nogales on Dec. 26, having been caught digging up rifles that had been buried in preparation for a revolt on Jan. 1. * * * A special delegate from the Pope, Mgr. Philipi, who was in Mexico during the Diaz régime, was received by President Obregon on Dec. 21. Since 1910 the Vatican had been unrepresented. * * * Mexico's army budget calls for \$124,383,859, more than \$30,000,000 less than in 1921, and \$50,000,000 are to be spent on schools, more than ever before. * * * Unemployment in Puebla has reached an acute stage, and union workmen on Dec. 24 asked the authorities to grant them lands on which they can raise food. The May-orazgo hacienda was seized by workmen, who displayed a red and black flag. * * * Felipe Carillo, a Deputy and leader of the Socialists in Yucatan, was elected Governor of that State, unopposed by the Liberal-Constitutionalists, and was inaugurated on Jan. 1, succeeding Manuel Berzuanza, a youth of 25. * * * Señor Morones, leader of the Social Democratic Party, and Congressman Luis Leon were attacked on Jan. 10 in the streets of Mexico City. Three shots were fired at them, but they escaped without injury. The attack was said to be a result of the troubles over the election of the permanent commission referred to above. * * * Supreme Court Justice Donnelly of New York, on Jan. 11, dismissed a suit brought by the Mexican Government against the Lebertan Corporation for breach of contract to supply twenty-five submarine chasers, on the ground that Mexico has not been recognized by the United States.

NEW ZEALAND

The population of New Zealand increased more than 14,500 last year by immigration from Great Britain and other parts of the Empire, the largest annual total of new arrivals in forty years. The British Government assisted 5,286, and of the remainder nearly 5,000 were assisted by the New Zealand Government. A curious feature of the immigration laws is that those Britons expecting to receive assistance in the form of steamer passage at a reduced fare are required to be nominated by some person already in the Dominion. * * * At a conference of meat packers and dealers, presided over by Premier Massey, a resolution was adopted on Jan. 10 supporting the principle of compulsory pooling of meat sales, and a committee was appointed to bring it into operation.

NICARAGUA

Three American marines, who killed three Nicaraguan policemen and wounded others in a brawl in Managua on Dec. 8 (CURRENT HISTORY, January, 1922, p. 675), were sentenced on Dec. 30 to ten years' imprisonment at hard labor by a United States naval tribunal composed of officers from the Galveston, which had been ordered from Balboa to investigate. * * * Nicaragua's best harbors and the bulk of her population are on the west between Lake Nicaragua and the Pacific, so that the chief means of com-

munication with Europe and Eastern America are by way of the Panama Canal. To open a more direct route, it is proposed to construct a railroad to the Atlantic Coast, and the Government has authorized a loan of \$3,000,000 to start the work.

NORTH AFRICA

Anti-white feeling is increasing among the natives all over Africa, according to evidence obtained by an authoritative British observer. The strongest factor in the development of this antagonism, he says, is "skillful propaganda fostered by an extreme section of American negroes." Circulars from the United States are translated into the principal African languages and distributed with unsettling effect in French and Belgian Africa, Nyassaland, Uganda and Kenya. * * * Italy, to allay the race prejudice, has announced her intention of granting self-government to Tripolitana. All persons 20 years of age are to receive the franchise. * * * Count Maurice de Leusse, member of a well-known Paris family, was assassinated by natives while on a big-game hunting expedition in Northeast Africa, according to a message from Jibuti to the French Foreign Office, on Jan. 2. The other members of the party were returning to France with the Count's body. * * * The death of Colonel Charles Young, the only negro to reach the rank of Colonel in the United States regular army, was reported in a cable to the War Department, received in Washington on Jan. 12 from Monrovia, Liberia, which said he had died in Nigeria, but gave no details of why he went there. He was graduated from West Point in 1889, served with Pershing in Mexico and was Military Attaché in Liberia in 1912, reorganizing the constabulary there. He was retired in 1917 and went again to Liberia two years ago.

NORWAY

Under the special arbitration agreement between the United States and Norway, signed June 30, 1921, for the adjustment of certain claims of Norwegian subjects against the United States arising out of requisitions by the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation during the war, President Harding has appointed Chandler P. Anderson of New York arbitrator, and William C. Dennis of Indiana agent. Under the terms of the treaty, the case is to be heard by an arbitral tribunal of three members sitting at The Hague. * * * M. M. Mjelde of Norway House, London, in a letter to The London Daily Telegraph, Dec. 23, corrected newspaper reports that an amount recently paid to Norway by Germany for food sold to the latter since the armistice was an indemnity for submarine damages. M. Mjelde added that Norway had received no submarine indemnity from Germany, and that the Norwegian merchantmen seized by the Germans were afterward divided between the Allies as German ships. On Dec. 20, King Haakon formally opened the newly finished Norway House, Cockspur Street, London, which for several months has been the home of the Norwegian

Legation, the Norwegian Chamber of Commerce, and the Norwegian State Railways Travel Bureau. * * * News of Messrs. Knudsen and Tessen, the men lost from the Roald Amundsen North Polar expedition in the Winter of 1919, was given through the official Russian Rosta Agency. It told The Associated Press on Dec. 30 of getting a letter signed by the two lost Norwegians and found at Cape Wild by the Russian expedition under Begitchen. The letter was dated Nov. 10, 1919, and read in part: "Bears destroyed our depots; we have now twenty days' provisions." Near Cape Premetny, the Begitchen expedition, which has been searching the Arctic regions for traces of Knudsen and Tessen, reported finding the remains of a fire on the beach and what seemed to be a burned human body. There were footprints of only one man, and a rifle and cartridges of the Norwegian 1914 model. Little hope is entertained of their survival. * * * Captain Roald Amundsen's preparations for his renewed quest for the North Pole contemplate a five-year drift from Alaska, over the top of the world with the ice-pack, to Norway.

PALESTINE

On the fourth anniversary of Lord Allenby's entry into Jerusalem, Dec. 9, the Palestine Arab delegates in London, in a florid telegram to the King, requested his Majesty, under the guidance of the Christianity originating in Palestine, to grant them the self-determination proclaimed by Lord Allenby on his entry into Jerusalem. * * * The Duke of Sutherland replied in November, on behalf of the British Government, to interpellations by Lord Sydenham and Lord Parmoor, that a moratorium had been declared in favor of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem to ease its almost hopeless burden of debt. The activities of the Patriarchate, founded on the Bishopric of Jerusalem, which extended back to the days of the Apostles, had been paralyzed by a great schism between the Patriarch and the majority of the Synod, at the time of the formation of Palestine's civil government. As Palestine was no longer under Moslem rule, it had been decided to sell off the properties of the Patriarchate still under Moslem jurisdiction. Also, lands in Palestine, especially in the suburbs of Jerusalem, of recent acquisition and of no historic associations with the Patriarchate, were being sold under provisions that aimed to prevent land speculation.

PANAMA

Panama's independence, after eighteen years of separation, was finally recognized by Colombia on Dec. 24, when the Chamber of Deputies at Bogota passed the treaty with the United States first presented on April 6, 1914.

PERSIA

Rabbi Joseph Saul Kornfeld of Columbus, Ohio, has become United States Minister to Persia, having been nominated for that position by President Harding. The President received the credentials in November of Mirza Hussein Khan Ali, the new Persian Minister to the

United States. * * * Friendly negotiations between British and American interests in Persian oil fields were under way in December. The result was expected to have no effect on the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's operations in Southern and Eastern Persia. A complication arose over the Northern interests, originally belonging to a Georgian named Khostaria. Oil magnates in Great Britain expected the whole question of the remaining Persian oil concessions would have to be settled by diplomatic action of the powers concerned.

PERU

On Dec. 25 the Peruvian Government sent a note to Bolivia offering to co-operate with Bolivia to bring about arbitration between Bolivia and Chile, provided the present controversy between Peru and Chile is settled by arbitration. The Bolivian Government in a previous note suggested that in case Peru and Chile were unable to reach an agreement regarding the sovereignty of the disputed Provinces of Tacna and Arica, an international conference, composed of disinterested and friendly nations, be called to settle all claims. * * * The head of the Peruvian Cabinet denied on Dec. 14 that revolutionary troops operating in Eastern Peru had defeated the Government forces, declaring that, on the contrary, the rebel forces have been repelled three times in small encounters. * * * The anniversary of the battle of Ayacucho was commemorated with the inauguration of the Bolivar, Museum, in which many trophies of the War of Independence are exhibited. * * * A Presidential decree forbids the crossing of the national boundaries at below 3,000 meters for any foreign airplane or other airship, establishing at the same time a protective zone of 12,000 meters breadth. Any foreign aircraft trespassing beyond these limits will be suspected of espionage, and will be dealt with by force and its crew taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this law, foreign aircraft will be permitted to cross Peruvian territory in transit if previously furnished with official authorization. The descent within Chilean territory will also be allowed, provided the place and time have been designated in advance. * * * With the hundred-thousand-pound loan for the payment of several months' salaries to customs employees and the approval by the Executive of the plan presented by the American expert in charge of the reorganization of customs services, rapid improvement is expected of the commercial life of the country.

POLAND

Poland received its first payment about the middle of December from the Russian Soviet Government under the Riga Peace Treaty signed last March. The payment was in the form of gold and jewels to the value of 50,000,000 Polish marks, and arrived on a special train under military guard. The bullion, weighing 1,280 pounds, gives Poland its first substantial gold reserve. * * * The number of Polish refugees from Russia arriving daily at Baranowicz, on the frontier, was estimated in De-

cember at 6,000. Many of these repatriated Poles had been frozen to death in unheated cars, and the Polish officials blamed the Soviet Government for criminal neglect. * * * Polish foreign trade is improving month by month. Trade with the Ukraine is active, and a special commission composed of Polish economic leaders has been formed in Warsaw for the double purpose of developing trade relations between Poland and Soviet Russia and improving the transportation conditions between them. Considerable quantities of agricultural implements were being exported to Russia. * * * The settlement in Upper Silesia was progressing smoothly, both in Kattowitz and in Geneva. The German industrialists, haunted by the fear of expropriation in the districts assigned to Poland, and the Polish negotiators were showing a mutually conciliatory spirit. * * * The result of the Vilna elections, which were held on Jan. 8, has not yet been officially announced. (See Lithuania.) * * * The political and economic treaty concluded by Poland with Czechoslovakia (Nov. 7) was communicated to the League of Nations toward the middle of December. Under this treaty, all future disputes are to be settled by compulsory arbitration under an appeal to the Permanent Court of International Justice recently set up by the League. * * * Danzig-Poland relations continue to be favorable. The inter-allied commission for the division of former German property in Danzig has assigned virtually all the material of the arms factories to Poland, thereby arousing the furor Teutonicus of the Pan-German press. The Free City has given all Germans one year in which to exercise their option of citizenship under the Danzig-German Treaty, which Poland refused to ratify.

PORTO RICO

Despite the demand of Porto Ricans, of fifteen out of nineteen Senators and thirty-nine out of fifty-eight Assemblymen, for the removal of E. Mont Rely as Governor of the island, President Harding instructed him to return to his duties, according to a White House announcement made on Dec. 16. * * * With regard to the charge that Governor Rely was appointing an unusual number of Americans to jobs in Porto Rico, about which Senator King, Democrat, of Utah, offered a resolution of inquiry, President Harding, without waiting for its passage, wrote to Mr. King saying that on July 1, when Rely became Governor, forty-nine continentals and 5,911 natives were employed in the insular government and the only changes of consequence since then were a reduction of the number of Americans from forty-nine to forty-five. In the major appointments, there had been six changes, and in four of them continentals had been replaced by islanders. * * * Associate Justice Emilio del Toro was selected for appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico by Secretary Weeks on Dec. 22. * * * The Federal farm loan system has been extended to Porto Rico. * * * Cayetano Coll, Speaker of the Porto Rico House of Representatives, in an address at Madrid, Spain, on Dec. 20, suggested the founding of a Spanish-speaking League of Nations, "as Spain

and Latin America have been ignored at the Washington conference." * * * A commission of Porto Ricans on Jan. 13 presented a petition to Congress for an ample autonomous form of government, comparing the political situation of Porto Rico to that of Canada in 1839.

PORTUGAL

The outstanding event in revolution-torn Portugal in December was the overthrow of the Cabinet of Mala Pinto, with the formation of a new Cabinet under Senhor Cunha Leal, former Minister of Finance. The new Premier, who came into power on Dec. 15, is barely 30 years of age, a Captain in the Engineer Corps, who served in Africa and Flanders. He entered politics only three years ago, and his rise to high responsibility has been exceptionally rapid. The downfall of the Pinto Cabinet was due primarily to the dissolution of Parliament and the adjournment of the elections. Premier Cunha Leal increased his reputation for energy and courage on the night of Dec. 15, when, menaced by the revolutionary Octobrists, he passed the night under the protection of the Republican Guards and declared that no threats would deter him from accepting his new responsibilities—that he would succeed or perish. Assured of the support of the principal parties in Parliament, he managed despite all obstacles on the following day to form a Cabinet, composed as follows:

CAPTAIN CUNHA LEAL—Premier and Interior.
 SENHOR JULIO DANTAS—Foreign Affairs.
 SENHOR VICTORINO GUIMARAENS—Finance and Commerce.
 CAPTAIN JOAO CAVALHO—Marine.
 SENHOR MARIANO MARTINS—Agriculture.
 SENHOR REGO CHAVES—Colonies.
 COLONEL FREIREIA—War.
 SENHOR ALVES SANTOS—Labor.
 SENHOR ROCHA SARAIVA—Instruction.
 SENHOR ABRANCHES FERRAO—Justice.

"I have a double task—to maintain order and to reorganize the Administration," said the new Premier on Dec. 20. It was essential, he said, to improve the bad financial situation caused by Portugal's failure to increase taxation during the World War. First of all, the Government must be stabilized. Measures must also be taken to remedy the high cost of living, which caused universal discontent. Arrests were made on Dec. 29 following the killing of two persons and the wounding of five others through the explosion of bombs in process of manufacture in a building belonging to the Lisbon General Confederation of Labor. Up to the middle or January Senhor Leal had succeeded in keeping the revolutionary element in control.

RUMANIA

The Cabinet crisis continued to be the centre of public interest. It appears that, although the withdrawal of the Averesco Government had been expected, it occurred ahead of schedule time and under rather precipitate circumstances. This was the result of a feud of old standing between Premier Averesco and the Foreign Minister, Také Jonesco. The former had made all arrangements to cede his place to General Coanda, who had been Premier in the period between the pro-German Marghilo-

man Cabinet of 1918 and the appointment of the Averesco Administration. The Coanda Cabinet was to assume power pending the convocation of a new Chamber. This plan, however, was thwarted by Averesco's enemy, Foreign Minister Jonesco, who resigned three days ahead of the time set, and thus precipitated the fall of the Ministry. It is generally assumed that the newly-appointed Cabinet, headed by M. Jonesco, cannot last over Feb. 1. Both the new Premier and ex-Premier Averesco are canvassing the Deputies, trying to secure their pledges of support for the reopening of Parliament. Averesco is making approaches to the Extreme Left, the Peasant Party, headed by Dr. Lupu. It is generally believed; however, that the man of the future is the former Premier Bratiano, who is regarded as the strongest man by both Court and people, and who, as head of the Liberal Party, commands the support of all the big banks. He is negotiating with the powerful Transylvanian Nationalist Party, and the combination, if achieved, would probably carry the day. The Liberals, who have been out of power for several years, have a detailed program of economic reconstruction, with the stoppage of the currency-printing presses as a preliminary.

RUSSIA

Premier Lenin has shifted some of the portfolios in his Cabinet and added three new members. The following is the revised list, as taken from the official newspaper Pravda and the Rosta Agency on Jan. 13:

NIKOLAI LENIN—President of the Council of Commissars.
 M. RYKOV—First Vice President.
 M. TSURUPOFF—Second Vice President. (The Vice Presidents are newly created officials.)
 M. LUNACHARSKY—Commissar for Education.
 LEONID KRASSIN—Foreign Trade.
 M. KARESTINSKY—Finance.
 M. STALIN—National Minorities and Labor and Peasant Inspection.
 M. SCHMIDT—Labor.
 M. BRUKHANOFF—Food.
 LEON TROTZKY—War and Navy.
 M. DJERJINSKY—Communication and Interior.
 M. DOVNALEVSKY—Posts and Telegraphs.
 DR. SEMASHKO—Health.
 GEORGE TCHITCHERIN—Foreign Affairs.
 M. KURSKY—Justice.
 M. YAKOVENKO—Agriculture.
 M. BOGDANOFF—President of the Supreme Economic Council.

All the members of the Cabinet are of the so-called Right Wing Communists, following Lenin's lead. Nearly all are native Russians. Trotzky, the Minister of War, and Schmidt, Minister of Labor, are of Jewish parentage. Djerjinsky, the Minister of the Interior, is of Polish nationality, and Stalin, the Minister of National Minorities and Labor and Peasant Inspection, is a Georgian.

An American appropriation of \$20,000,000 for Russian Relief was signed by President Harding on Dec. 23. Col. Haskell, Director of the relief work in Russia, had reported that 27,000,000

people were starving. * * * The Soviet Government on Dec. 24 promised Walter Lyman Brown, European Director of American relief work, that it would contribute \$10,000,000 to purchase food and seed supplies in the United States within 90 days. The Soviet's request for permission to send a representative to the United States to supervise these purchases was granted by Mr. Hoover. Meanwhile five large ships, laden with grain, sailed for Russia. * * *

The ninth All-Russian Congress opened in Moscow on Dec. 23, and closed on Jan. 4. Many addresses were made, notably by Lenin and Trotzky, but the practical results of the congress were few. Lenin announced at the opening session that the dreaded Extraordinary Commission would henceforth confine itself to political activities. His whole plan for economic reform was approved at this first session. Land reform plans were adopted at the session of Dec. 28. Trotzky on Dec. 29 made a belligerent speech against Poland, Rumania and Finland, in which he declared that the Red Army would be ready to beat back all new aggressions in 1922. He also denounced the Washington Conference, one of the first consequences of which, he declared, was Japan's attack on the Far Eastern Republic. The whole "Pres'dium," or Soviet governing body, was re-elected at the closing session.

SANTO DOMINGO

The Senate Committee which investigated conditions in Haiti also inquired into affairs in Santo Domingo and advised against the removal of American troops. The conditions laid down by President Harding last summer—that elections be held under American auspices and that a loan floated by American bankers be validated—had not been fulfilled, Senator McCormick, the Chairman, said in a preliminary report. He admits that the program of public works was "perhaps too ambitious" and urges a new loan to refund two previous ones saddled on the Dominican Government, of which he says the services "including the provision for their amortization, are unusual and crushing," crippling the ordinary administration. * * *

Horace G. Knowles, formerly United States Minister to Santo Domingo, and counsel for the deposed Government before the Senate Committee, returned to New York, and on Dec. 30 issued a statement denouncing the report, the only base for which was a plea made by the Navy Department in attempted defense of its action. He says abuses, cruelties and murders were committed by the marines. An alleged bandit was invited to American headquarters on promise of a commission and assassinated on the way, after one officer, Captain Thomas E. Watson, had refused to do the killing because he "did not want nigger blood on his hands." Lieut. Commander Arthur H. Mayo had been elevated to Chief Financial Manager and brought the country to a state of bankruptcy. "Although last year's revenue had exceeded by \$4,000,000 the budget estimates, so much had been spent that, against the protests of the people, \$2,500,000 had been borrowed in New York on which the rate of interest was from 9.2 to 18.7 per cent."

SCOTLAND

Industry along the Clyde has suffered a stunning blow from the suspension of the huge contracts given to the shipyards for the construction of three great warships. The Washington disarmament plan means that for a long time to come there will be more workers than work on the Clyde. The three firms immediately affected had counted on earning their running expenses from the warships, which would enable them to make more favorable bids on merchant liners. Until the news of the suspension was received there had been a turn for the better, but, as one shipyard manager put it, the suspension will only darken the gloom and give a set-back to other possible contracts. It was estimated that the suspension of the warship contracts would have the effect of throwing between seven and ten thousand men back into the unemployed ranks, and blasting the hopes of other thousands who anticipated work in the near future.

SIBERIA

The already tangled situation in Siberia became still more complex at the end of December, through the capture of Khabarovsk by forces of the Vladivostok Government. This city, lying at the point where the Trans-Siberian Railroad crosses the Amur River and turns west into inner Siberia, has great strategical importance. It had been held by the Chita Government since October, when the Japanese evacuated. The capturing forces were made up largely of soldiers formerly of the Kappel, Semenov and Kalmykev armies controlled by Kolchak, and who have now allied themselves with the Vladivostok anti-Bolshevik régime, which is headed by Spiridon Merkulov. The attackers took advantage of the Japanese area extending some 120 miles north of Vladivostok and of the neutral zone twenty miles wide lying beyond and fixed by an agreement between Japan and Chita. Advancing under this double cover, they fell on the Chita garrison suddenly and overpowered it easily. The Chita army all told amounts only to some 50,000 soldiers, and the Khabarovsk position was weakly defended. The power of the Vladivostok Government was thus extended to the northern boundary of the Far Eastern Republic. The Chita delegation at the Washington Arms Conference, on the basis of its messages from home, charged the Japanese with engineering this assault in order to gain from the Vladivostok Government concessions which had been refused them by the Chita negotiators at the Dairen Conference, their alleged purpose being to find new pretexts for not withdrawing their military forces from Siberia. The leaders of the Japanese delegation at Washington denied this. The Chita representatives also charged the Japanese with maintaining an oppressive military rule in the Maritime Province and at Nikolaevsk, basing their charges on proclamations issued by the Japanese military commanders there. * * *

The Dairen Conference, which has continued with interruptions since last May, has made but little progress. The

latest demands made by the Japanese, which the Chita officials declared were equivalent to making the Far Eastern Republic a Japanese colony, were these:

(1) That Japanese subjects receive equal rights and privileges with citizens of the Far Eastern Republic. (2) Abolition of all laws limiting the rights of Japanese subjects. (3) Destruction of fortifications in Vladivostok and in the Maritime Province. (4) The recognition of the right of Japan to maintain military guards in the Far Eastern Republic.

Officially the attitude of the Japanese Government remained the same: Japan would withdraw her forces from Siberia when she received assurance that a stable Russian rule existed there and that the lives and property of Japanese subjects would be secure. There are some 8,000 Japanese nationals in Vladivostok alone. The official representatives of the new Vladivostok régime, on their arrival in Washington, issued statements in which they denied that they were controlled by or in complicity with the Japanese, and asserted that they were the standard bearers of the sane Russian element unalterably opposed to the Bolshevik régime, of which they declared Chita, despite all camouflage, to be a part. Nikolai Matveev is now the President of the Far Eastern Republic.

SPAIN

The Spanish military successes in Morocco continued through December, both in the western and the eastern sections of the war zone. The Spanish forces had been increased by approximately 20,000 men under High Commissioner Berenguer as Chief of Command. Spanish prisoners taken by the Moors were being ransomed on the payment of sums averaging from 4,000 to 5,000 pesetas. More than a score of these prisoners who escaped early in December were recaptured and severely punished. * * * The debate on the Morocco campaign which had occupied the Spanish Parliament for forty days continued with little practical result. The general sentiment expressed was that this campaign, which had cost so much in blood and treasure, as well as national prestige, should be ended speedily. Señor Martínez Campos, a staff officer in Melilla, drew a deplorable picture of the disorganization existing in every branch of the service in Morocco, and General Primo de Rivera advocated withdrawal. To this disorganization, attested by Spanish authorities, the Madrid correspondent of The London Times attributed the grievances of the British volunteers who quit the Spanish service and returned to England. * * * The dispute between Juan de la Cierva, the civilian Minister of War, and the army officers' juntas or committees was reaching a crisis in the first ten days of January. The efforts of this Minister to reform the Morocco maladministration are said to have been the cause of the committees' hostility. Clashes of the juntas with the Morocco commanders over the appointment of junta officers on the new General Staff were recorded in the January issue of CURRENT HISTORY. Feeling was high over the resignation of the octogenarian General

Valeriano Weyler, Chief of Staff, following censure from Minister de la Cierva. * * * The preferential tariff régime in force between France and Spain since 1906 ended on Dec. 10, and what was described as a tariff war began on that date. The main cause of this rupture was Spain's surcharges for depreciated currency. * * * The Madrid Government received notice on Nov. 15 that the Spanish-American Postal Convention drawn up in Madrid last year had been ratified by the Governments of Cuba, Colombia, Salvador, Honduras, Bolivia, Peru and Santo Domingo.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Federal Assembly has elected M. Robert Haab President of the Confederation, with 154 votes out of 163. M. Haab is a lawyer and railway expert. He was born at Zurich in 1865. He had held the position of Minister to Berlin, and since 1917 has had charge of the Department of Posts and Communications, which he will retain during his Presidency. The President whose term has just expired, M. Motta, will retain charge of the Political Department, which is the Foreign Office of the Federal Council. M. Scheurer of Berne, head of the Military Department, was elected Vice President. * * * Construction of the second Simplon tunnel, started in 1912, has been finished. * * * The electric industry of Switzerland is seriously crippled by the drought which lasted all last Summer and Fall, and has left generating stations in the Alps without adequate supply of water. * * * The Federal Council has ratified, by 7 votes against 2, the convention with France concerning the free border zones, as provided by the Treaty of Versailles. * * * Ex-Empress Zita of Austria-Hungary arrived in Switzerland to attend the operation on her son, the Archduke Robert, for appendicitis. She was given special permission to do so by the Swiss Government, as the imperial couple have been barred forever from Swiss territory. The permit was valid for two weeks only.

SWEDEN

The stabilization of exchange rates in Sweden, bringing Swedish money almost on a par with the American dollar and thus reviving foreign trade, has raised hopes of early business improvement in all Scandinavian countries. Sweden's trade with the United States, after two years of suffering from the high cost of American dollars, can now go on as formerly, according to Stockholm bankers. The Swedish Government, in December, prolonged the Riksbank's dispensation from the redemption of bank notes in gold until March 31, 1922. Consignments of Soviet gold to Sweden are declared to amount, all told, to something between 500,000,000 and 600,000,000 kroner, according to investigations of the Svensk Handelstidning. Of this amount, Swedish mints have melted down gold valued at \$31,200,000. Trade with Russia and the Baltic States is slack. Trade negotiations with the Soviet proceed very slowly and with remote prospects of settlement. A Swedish communist delegation to Moscow had to re-

port there that, in spite of growing unemployment and stringent money conditions, Sweden was not revolutionary. So, with no prospect of civil war, the Swedish Communist Party decided to support Branting's Socialist Government.

* * * On Jan. 6, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Alexander Shapiro, the anarchist deportees from America, arrived in Stockholm from Soviet Russia. The Swedish authorities gave the trio permission to remain in Sweden a month, granting also guarantees that they might return by way of Sweden to Soviet Russia. * * * While Premier Hjalmar Branting and the Swedish press praise the progress of the Washington Conference as beginning a new phase in relations among the great powers which will proportionately benefit the smaller nations, "Sweden could not accept the banning of the submarine, which is the most efficient weapon of defense for small nations," according to Captain Gisko, chief of the submarine department of the Swedish Navy. Unable to build battleships and cruisers comparable to those of the great powers, Sweden is to base her naval defense on submarines, destroyers and airplanes.

TURKEY

The snarl of complications created in the Turkish situation by France's separate treaty with Kemal's Nationalist Government at Angora (see text of same in January CURRENT HISTORY) was aggravated by the resignation of Premier Briand, and the immediate succession of ex-President Raymond Poincaré, M. Briand's opponent, to the Premiership. M. Poincaré had been carrying on a press campaign to secure a modification of the Treaty of Angora, largely agreeing with British criticisms of it, that it dangerously divided allied policy, and strained relations between France and Britain, and that France did wrong in conceding territories to the Kemalists over which she had only mandates.

The terrible plight the Treaty of Angora created for Christian minorities in Cilicia became apparent from the moment the withdrawal of French troops began, Nov. 28. Thousands of Armenians and Greeks had begun to migrate as soon as the French withdrawal was assured. The Kemalist Turks, rushing into the vacated territory, began such a series of atrocities and outrages that the remaining Armenians sent appeals to the British Government, to the French Government, and to the League of Nations both for relief from famine and for transportation of their entire population to some foreign country. Britain replied that she was

unable to give either. On Jan. 5 the evacuation of 49,884 Christians, mostly Armenians, from Cilicia into Syria under the protection of the French Army was completed. According to the French official announcement, 3,985 Christians remained in Cilicia of their own free will.

On Jan. 6 the French Government issued an official paper indicating that the Angora agreement is not regarded as a treaty of peace and implies no recognition, *de facto* or *de jure*, of the Angora Government. It indicates further that the rights of Great Britain and Italy, recognized in the tripartite agreement, are in no way affected by the Angora agreement, and that France admits the principle of adjusting in a final peace treaty all outstanding problems.

Meanwhile the continued state of war between Greece and the Angora Turks and the menace of the Bolshevik machinations in the Kemalists' rear create a dilemma. The Kurds were kept supplied with arms from Russia, and they kept passing the arms exported to them from Russia on to Enver Pasha, who, at last advice, was in Batum, creating a new State—Ajaristan—under his rule on the Black Sea. This unfriendly activity of the Bolsheviks resulted from Kemal's transference of economic concessions already granted the Soviets to France, in the Angora agreement. This estranged the Russians, though Kemal continued to profess loyalty to his alliance with them. Moscow's continued efforts to stir up unrest in the East to prevent peace between Turkey and the Western nations are in contrast to her efforts for Western recognition. It was indicated in London that a joint offer of reasonably acceptable peace terms to Kemal by the Allies, as a solution of the Near Eastern deadlock, was contemplated by the Supreme Council before its final adjournment. Franklin-Bouillon, the French negotiator of the Angora Treaty, had been called to the Cannes Conference about a week before its adjournment. A British mission to Ineboli under Major Henry meanwhile had done much toward securing for Great Britain an agreement favorable to British interests in Turkey.

UNITED STATES

The chief interest continued to centre about the Arms Conference at Washington, a full report of which will be found at the beginning of this magazine. Other American developments are recorded under the heading, "The Month in the United States."

THE CANNES CONFERENCE

What the Supreme Council accomplished in the sessions that inadvertently overthrew the Briand Government—Call to the Genoa Conference—New German reparation terms—Franco-British treaty of alliance

A CONFERENCE was held at London on Dec. 21 and 22, 1921, between Premiers Lloyd George and Aristide Briand, at which the whole question of disarmament, reparations and economic restoration of Europe was discussed. As a result, a call was issued for a meeting of the Supreme Council at Cannes, France. Preliminary to the Cannes Conference, a meeting was held at Paris Dec. 29 by French and British financiers under the leadership of Laming Worthington Evans, the British Secretary of State for War, and Louis Loucheur, French Minister of Reconstruction. It was at this meeting that plans were formulated for organizing a national corporation to finance the restoration of Europe, with a capital of \$100,000,000, to be shared equally by Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States—if the United States so desired.

The allied Supreme Council met at Cannes on Jan. 6, with the Premiers of Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and the Japanese Ambassador at Paris in attendance. Ambassador Harvey was present as an observer, but did not participate in the proceedings. The Allied Reparation Commission was also in attendance, and large official delegations from the allied countries. The Supreme Council held two sessions the first day and unanimously passed a resolution calling for a conference of all the European States to meet at Genoa, Italy, March 8. The resolution was as follows:

The allied powers, met in conference, are unanimously of the opinion that a conference of an economic and financial nature should be called during the first weeks of March, to which all the European powers, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Russia included, should be invited to send representatives. They consider that such a conference constitutes an urgent and essential step toward the economic reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe. They are of the firm opinion that the Prime Ministers of each nation ought, if possible, to take part themselves at this conference, so that the recommendations can be acted on as quickly as possible.

The allied powers consider that the restoration

of the international commerce of Europe, as well as the development of the resources of all countries, is necessary to increase the amount of productive labor and lessen the suffering endured by the European peoples.

A common effort by the most powerful States is necessary to render to the European system its vitality, which is now paralyzed.

This effort ought to be applied to the suppression of all obstacles in the way of commerce. It ought to be applied also to granting large credits to the most feeble countries and to the co-operation of all for the restoration of normal production.

The allied powers consider that the fundamental and indispensable conditions for the realization of an efficacious effort are capable of being defined in general terms as follows:

1. The nations cannot claim the right to dictate to each other the principles according to which they must organize within their frontiers, their régime of property, their economy and their Government. It is the right of each country to choose for itself the system which it prefers.

2. Nevertheless, it is not possible to place foreign capital in order to help a country unless the foreigners who provide the capital have a certitude that their property and their rights will be respected, and that the fruits of their enterprise will be assured.

3. This feeling of security cannot be re-established unless nations or their Governments desiring to obtain foreign credits freely engage: (a) To recognize all public debts and obligations which have been contracted, or will be contracted or guaranteed by States, municipalities, or other public organizations, and to recognize also obligation to restore or, in case of default, to indemnify all foreign interests for loss or damage which has been caused by the confiscation or sequestration of property; (b) to establish legal and juristic punishment and assure the impartial execution of all commercial or other contracts.

4. The nations ought to have available convenient means of exchange; in general, financial and monetary conditions ought to exist which offer sufficient guarantees.

5. All nations ought to engage to abstain from all propaganda which is subversive of the political system established in other countries.

6. All nations ought to take a common engagement to abstain from all aggression on their neighbors.

If, with a view to assuring the necessary conditions for the development of the commerce of Russia, the Russian Government claims official recognition, the allied Governments cannot ac-

cord this recognition unless the Russian Government accepts the preceding conditions.

Premier Lloyd George took the leading part in the deliberations. He delivered a long address in which he reviewed the situation in Europe, urging the utmost frankness between delegates, and dwelling particularly upon the importance of all the nations being invited.

The meeting of the council on Jan. 7 was devoted to discussion of reparations, and it was finally determined to summon German representatives to Paris, whence, if necessary, they could be called later to Cannes. Meanwhile, however, conversations were in progress between Premier Lloyd George and Premier Briand with relation to a treaty of alliance between France and Great Britain. The Supreme Council on Jan. 10 approved the plan for the formation of an international finance corporation and appointed a committee, composed of two British, two French, one Italian, one Belgian and one Japanese representative, to organize a corporation. The Governments represented at the Cannes Council undertook to furnish £10,000 for the organizing expenses. It is to be called the Central International Corporation, and will have its principal offices in London. The corporation will consist of representatives of the national corporations to be formed in England, France, Italy, Belgium and Japan, and, if willing, the United States. Germany is not invited, but is desired in the corporation, though it is stipulated that one-half of the profits accrued on the shares of the German National Corporation will be paid to the Reparation Commission. The first meeting of the committee was called for Jan. 25 at London.

At the meeting of the council on Jan. 10 it was announced that the text of the Anglo-French Treaty of Alliance was agreed upon. Meanwhile reports from Paris of the great opposition to the course of Premier Briand convinced him that it was necessary that he consult at Paris before proceeding further in the deliberations. The Council was suspended until he could go to Paris for this purpose. The next day the world was startled by Briand's resignation and the creation of a new French Ministry. [See "France" in News of the Nations.]

At the final session of the council formal invitations were issued summoning the na-

tions to the Genoa Conference, regardless of what happened at Paris. The most important countries were asked to send at least three delegates, and not over five, and the other nations two delegates each.

The Reparation Commission at this same meeting made its final report of an adjustment of the German payments. The decision stated that the Reparation Commission had decided to grant the German Government a provisional delay for payment of the sums due Jan. 15 and Feb. 15, so far as these payments were not covered by payments in cash or in kind, on certain conditions. These conditions are:

First—During the period of provisional delay Germany must pay in approved foreign securities 31,000,000 gold marks every ten days, the first payment to be Jan. 16.

Second—Germany, within a fortnight, must submit to the commission a plan for reforms or appropriate guarantees for its budget and paper currency, and also a program for reparation payments in cash and in kind for 1922.

Third—The period of provisional delay shall end when the commission or the allied Governments have reached a decision in regard to the plan and program mentioned in the second condition, the balance due becoming payable a fortnight after the commission or the Allies have reached a decision.

The 31,000,000 gold marks which Germany is called on to pay every ten days during the period of provisional delay is just about equal to 25 per cent. on German exports. It is made clear in the conditions that the arrangement is only temporary, to be superseded by any definite arrangement the Allies may make hereafter in regard to reparations. The expectation in Council circles is that by the time the Germans reply to the demand of the commission for reforms, which include the suppression of subsidies and an increased price for coal, the French Government will be ready to resume consideration of the whole reparation question.

Dr. Walter Rathenau, head of the German delegation, took note of the decision in the name of his Government. He added that Germany had not defaulted in her payments, because negotiations had been taken up regarding the payments due Jan. 15. He also took note of the invitation to Germany to take part in the Genoa Conference.

Dr. Rathenau, in his speech before the commission on the day preceeding, had said that Germany was able to meet the London terms of 500,000,000 gold marks in cash and

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

THE GERMAN REPARATIONS

JOHN BULL: "No! Don't kill it, Marianne. Let's fatten it"

1,000,000,000 gold marks in kind annually, but could not go beyond those figures. He explained that Germany's inability to pay was due to the disastrous exchange, which had made it necessary for Germany to use marks to buy foreign currency, until the mark was a drug on the market. Germany's exportations amounted in the last year to only one-fourth of the exports in 1914, and the balance of trade against her amounted to 2,500,000,000 gold marks. This could not be offset by decreasing imports, because Germany was now buying abroad only food and necessary raw materials.

In connection with the reparation report the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued the following figures of the relative financial condition of France and Germany:

The German foreign debt is \$787,250,000; interior funded debt, \$850,250,000; interior floating debt, \$2,111,110,000, whereas France's foreign debt is \$6,856,000,000; interior funded debt, \$10,171,000,000, and interior floating debt, \$7,199,000,000.

To meet the financial obligations of the Treaty of Versailles Germany has designated

for the budget \$787,000,000, whereas France to meet reconstruction of the devastated regions has designated a budget of \$1,570,000,000.

According to the tables the German budget makes the tax per person \$13.88. At the same time the French tax per head is \$45.22. The German fiscal year is May 1 to April 3 and the French Jan. 1 to Dec. 3. A kilogram of bread in Germany is 3½ cents, in France 8.22 cents. In Germany a ton of coal costs \$2.05, in France \$9.56. Transportation of a ten-ton railway car 1,000 kilometers: Germany, \$60, and France, \$178.50.

THE FRANCO-BRITISH TREATY

Following is the text of the proposed Treaty of Alliance between France and Great Britain as finally presented to the respective Governments for ratification:

CONSIDERING that the territory of France has been twice invaded by Germany within the memory of living men and that the country still profoundly suffers from the devastation inflicted by the enemy;

CONSIDERING that the peoples of both France and the British Empire paid a heavy tribute in human lives and riches to repulse the invasion of the German armies;

CONSIDERING that the prosperity of European peoples and the economic organizations of the world have been profoundly troubled by the

trial of prolonged war through which they have just passed;

CONSIDERING that guarantees for the security of France against future invasions by Germany are indispensable for the restoration of the stability of Europe, the security of Great Britain and the peace of the world;

CONSIDERING that the following measures for security contained in the Versailles Treaty—

Article 42—Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine.

Article 43—In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

Article 44—In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers signatory of the present treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

—may not provide sufficiently for the defense of the common interest essential to both high contracting parties, as well as to the maintenance of peace in Eastern Europe,

His Britannic Majesty and the President of the French Republic have agreed upon the following dispositions:

ARTICLE I. In case of direct and unprovoked aggression against the territory of France by Germany, Great Britain will place herself immediately at the side of France with her naval, military and aerial forces.

ARTICLE II. The high contracting parties again affirm the common interest which Articles 42, 43 and 44 of the Treaty of Versailles have for them, and they will act in concert if there arises any menace of violation to any one of said articles, or if any doubt arises as to their interpretation.

ARTICLE III. The high contracting parties also undertake to act in concert in case of Germany taking any military, naval or aerial measures whatever incompatible with the Treaty of Versailles.

ARTICLE IV. The present treaty imposes no obligation whatsoever on any dominions of the British Empire, unless or until approved by the dominion which is interested.

ARTICLE V. The present treaty will remain in vigor for a period of ten years, and will, by common accord, be renewable at the end of that period.

THE GENOA CONFERENCE

The Genoa Conference was expected to be the most important gathering since the Versailles Peace Congress. Up to the time of going to press the United States Government had made no announcement as to whether or not it would officially participate. The Soviet Government accepted with alacrity, even before the official invitations were issued. The following wireless communication was sent by Tchitcherin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on Jan. 8:

The Russian Government accepts with satisfaction the invitation to the European conference called for March next. An extraordinary session of the Central Executive Committee will proceed to select the Russian delegation and will confer on it the most extended powers.

Even if President of the Council of the People's Commissaries Lenin is prevented by his multiple tasks, particularly in connection with the famine, from leaving Russia, in any case the composition of the delegation, as well as the extent of its powers, would give it the same authority as if Citizen Lenin were in it. Nothing, then, will hinder in any case on the part of Russia the rapid progress of the conference.

Deep satisfaction was expressed in German official circles over the conference, and the German Government announced that it would be represented.

AMERICAN ATROCITIES IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

BY HELEN LESCHORN*

IT was my good fortune to be in Santo Domingo City, the capital of the Dominican Republic, some time prior to and at the time of the hearings held by the Special Committee of the United States

Senate to Investigate the Occupation and Administration of the Dominican Republic by the United States. It looked at first as if there were to be no hearings. When the Dominicans learned that the impresario had staged the investigation in the palace of the Military Governor, in a room adjoining his private office, and that the place

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was to have armed marines posted everywhere, even close to the table where the Senators would sit, they indignantly decided to have nothing to do with the investigation, declaring that such display of armed marines would make it appear that in no other way could the investigation be conducted in an orderly manner and with safety to the Senators, and would prejudice the minds of the Senators at the very outset against the Dominicans. Counsel for the Dominicans was not able to persuade his first witnesses and a few spectators to attend until the second day.

The hearings extended over a period of five days, and in all my experience attending court and judicial proceedings I have never heard and witnessed anything so intensely interesting, so amazing, and at times so horrifying. As an American citizen, devoted to the honor of our flag, my emotions were kept at the breaking point practically every moment of the time the committee held its sessions. Crimson with shame must have been my face most of the time, as witness after witness, men of high character and lofty ideals, ability and commanding patriotism, gave their accusing and incontrovertible testimony against our Government.

The claims of the Dominican people as to the illegality of the invasion and occupation of their country were supported by a number of unimpeachable witnesses. Their testimony and the sworn declarations of Senators, Congressmen and Ministers of State went much further and charged the United States with (1) either having originated or being implicated in a plot to foment a revolution; (2) interfering with the Dominican Congress when it was proceeding according to the Constitution and endeavoring to elect a President of the country; (3) using the American Legation to effect a corrupt deal whereby a certain man, apparently desired by Washington, was to be elected President of the Dominican Republic; (4) using armed force and imprisoning members of Congress in an attempt to elect that man President; (5) seeking to overthrow the Constitutional Government of the island republic. All the witnesses, without a single exception, declared that the reasons stated by the Navy Department as the cause for the intervention were based on false information.

Then came the accounts given under oath, many by men who had been victims, bearing horrible and ineffaceable wounds made by keen-edged steel and red-hot irons, of torture committed by United States marines, both officers and men. When details of some of the countless atrocities inflicted upon the previously disarmed, helpless, defenseless and unoffending Dominican people were given, the effect on me and, I believe, on every one in that audience room, including the Senators, was sickening, as pallid faces plainly indicated. At one stage I recall that Chairman McCormick, showing rare judgment and caution, indicated to the counsel of the Dominicans that it would be just as well if no more of that accusing evidence were given. Already an alarming effect of the at times unlistenable testimony of maimed natives on the Dominican auditors was noticeable to keen-eyed observers. The committee ended the hearings with astounding suddenness and left Santo Domingo City three days earlier than the time that had been announced.

The American people can prepare themselves for hearing one of the worst transactions in which our Government has ever been concerned. The evidence already in the record of this case puts Uncle Sam, probably for the first time in our history, on the defensive in a matter of our international relations and involving our integrity, and apparently the four members of the Senatorial committee realized that this investigation was developing in such a way that our country's honor was at stake. So far as the Dominicans are concerned, they tell me that the case has just been opened, and that when hearings are resumed in Washington there will be presented to the investigation committee evidence of wrongdoing on the part of representatives of the United States Government, and of atrocities and brutalities inflicted by the uniformed men of the United States upon a defenseless and unoffending people, that will shock and arouse every good citizen of our country.

Let the truth be told. It is far better for the American people to learn about this unfortunate affair now, and to end it in an honorable way, than to have such a black chapter go in our history for future generations and other nations of the world to read.